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The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN IS REPORTED TO have grinned happily when announcing that John L. Lewis had applied on behalf of the United Mine Workers for reaffiliation with the A. F. of L. But on second thought he seems to have recollected the old story of "the young lady of Riga, who smiling rode out on a tiger." He has not accepted the tempting down payment which Lewis offered but has appointed a committee of three to study the miners' application. Two members of this committee, Daniel J. Tobin and George W. Harrison, are New Dealers and likely to scrutinize Lewis's intentions and credentials with some severity. The third, Matthew Woll, is believed to tag along with William Hutcheson, Lewis's strongest supporter inside the A. F. of L. Formal barriers to readmission of the U. M. W. are not especially formidable. It would be opposed by the Progressive Mine Workers of America on the ground that affiliation would violate its charter rights, but this is only a small union, and some means of compromising its claims would probably be found if the Federation really wanted Lewis back. Another obstacle is the Lewis commando—District 50—organized to raid any union where the pickings promised to be good. Its strength lies not in its members but in its nuisance value, and it would no doubt be sacrificed by its leader—at a price.

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BUT IN DEALING WITH JOHN L. LEWIS IT IS the intangibles that need careful weighing. Not only trade-union but national politics are involved in his desire to return to the fold. The addition of the U. M. W., with its 600,000 members and its large war chest, to the A. F. of L. would certainly increase the latter's strength and prestige and relatively reduce the bargaining power of the C. I. O. in any future merger negotiations. However, once Lewis with his totalitarian ideas of unity was reestablished in the councils of the Federation, there would be little hope of bringing the two labor organizations together at all. Instead, we should expect to see efforts to wean the C. I. O.'s strongest units from it one by one. Politically there is no question that Lewis would seek to involve the A. F. of L. in his feud with Mr. Roosevelt and to swing it away from the New Deal. No doubt this move would be camouflaged as a revival of

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the "traditional" labor non-partisan policy, but it would put Lewis in a position to bargain with the Republicans and to exert an influence on next year's G. O. P. Presidential convention. Of course, there is no guaranty that Lewis will be able to deliver in 1944 the votes he will claim to represent, any more than he did in 1940, but it must be recognized that the Administration has been losing ground in labor circles owing to its continued appeasement of business. With the war being run by business men—and often, it appears, for business men—labor is feeling increasingly uneasy about the Washington set-up. If the miners win a substantial increase in wages—and there are indications that a formula is being prepared to allow just that—rank-and-file trade unionists are apt to feel that the merits of a big-stick policy have been demonstrated. Thus Lewis will be able to knock at the A. F. of L. door with redoubled assurance.

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IT MAY BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT THE House of Representatives will vote to abolish the poll tax in elections for federal office. A substantial majority of both houses favors abolition, and the move can be defeated only by a filibuster. Since this device for imposing the will of the few on a helpless majority is forbidden in the lower house, champions of the poll tax are already turning for salvation to the Senate, which came to their rescue last year. Representative Hobbs of Alabama calls the abolition bill an invitation to Congress to "forget its oath of office" and hints darkly that it might prevent the Senate from "functioning for a long period of time." "Blackmail" is the word for this delicate approach to legislation. A country that tolerates no work stoppages in industry should make matters uncomfortable for political strikers who would paralyze the Senate of the United States in war time.

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GREAT EMPHASIS WAS PLACED BY WINSTON Churchill in his speech to Congress on the increasing weight of the Allied aerial assault on Germany and Italy, and he gave some encouragement to the strategic school of thought which holds that the Axis can be bombed out of the war. Admitting that opinion was divided on this question he went on to say: "The experiment is well worth trying, so long as other measures are not excluded." And, indeed, the method is now being tried on a scale never attempted before. Month by month the R. A. F. and the American Eighth Air Force have been dropping a heavier weight of bombs on German Europe and there is no doubt that as a result German production has been appreciably diminished. However, as Donald Mitchell points out on another page, there is no definite evidence that German morale has been seriously affected, while the comparative immunity of eastern Germany from raiding is a limiting factor in knocking out the Nazi economy. No doubt the Germans will experience worse visitations yet; but a knockout from the air still seems many rounds ahead. Meanwhile an aerial campaign, apparently designed to soften up the Italian islands, is being waged from our newly won bases in Tunisia. Concentrating on ports and airfields, the Anglo-American fliers have been most successful in forcing the Axis pilots to come out and fight. In five days, for instance, 305 enemy planes were destroyed at a cost of 18 Allied planes. This suggests that our superiority is being established, and it may not be very long before the "other measures" of which Mr. Churchill spoke are exemplified in the Mediterranean arena.

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GENERALS DE GAULLE AND GIRAUD HAVE at last reached an agreement in principle, and with their meeting in Algiers the reintegration of the resisting French forces should be well under way. Their first task will be the organization of an executive committee which will act as the central authority until France is liberated. It is agreed that the two generals will preside in turn over the executive committee, whose responsibility is to be collective. Each will select two other members, and three more will later be chosen by the whole committee. Much will depend on these selections, and some difficulty may be foreseen in naming the ninth member, who will in effect cast a decisive vote. It is to be hoped, however, that as the committee buckles down to its tasks the dividing line between De Gaullist and Giraudist will gradually disappear. In several respects De Gaulle's patience—his opponents call it obstinacy—has been thoroughly justified. The colonial governors are to be excluded from the committee and relegated to their proper role as superior civil servants. Further, Giraud has agreed to the proposal for the institution of a consultative to guide the executive authority on French opinion. If truly representative, such a committee will obviously exercise an important anti-fascist influence.

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THE FOOD CONFERENCE, NOW IN ITS SECOND week, appears to be turning up the inevitable sharp variations in national opinion. Some of the differences that have arisen have their origin in the as yet unexplained decision to hold a conference on long-range food problems before the immediate questions of feeding the post-war world are considered. The delegates from Russia and most other parts of Europe can scarcely be blamed for wanting to make sure where next year's food is coming from before giving thought to long-range agricultural policies. Once this hurdle has been cleared, however, the British food plan, submitted by Richard Law, stands as a model of constructive post-war thinking. The British wish to abolish once and for all the philosophy of scarcity as a basis of world economic relations and to substitute

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a program designed to bring about the utmost production and the most widespread distribution of essential food. To this end a variation of Vice-President Wallace's "ever-normal-granary" plan is proposed, together with subsidized distribution by such devices as communal meals, school lunches, and the vitamin enrichment of staple foods. The plan recognizes, moreover, that "hunger and malnutrition are . . . symptoms of the more deep-rooted disease of poverty" and that "squalor and bad housing . . . prevent progress in nutrition even where the right foodstuffs are distributed." It therefore urges that the study of food and agricultural problems include reference to such wider economic problems as monetary arrangements, commercial policy, and the future of international investments. At first sight, this proposal may seem like an effort to blunt the effectiveness of the conference by unduly widening its scope. But basically the British delegation is right. The details of post-war policies cannot be discussed in isolation. A beginning must be made while the war still rages to draw up in broad outline the nature of the post-war world.

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THE DEATH OF ADMIRAL YAMAMOTO removes America's most implacable foe among the small coterie of Japanese militarists responsible for the war. His boast that he would dictate the terms of peace at the White House was not that of an empty braggart. Yamamoto possessed great abilities. He is credited with planning the attack on Pearl Harbor and with developing the strategy that led to the sinking of the Repulse and the Prince of Wales. He was regarded as the chief exponent of air power in the Japanese navy, and under his supervision the naval air force was developed much more successfully than the air branch of the army. The dominant force in Yamamoto's life, according to those who knew him, was hatred of the white race, particularly of the United States and Great Britain. Nearly thirty years ago, according to Willard Price, he attributed his decision to join the navy to a desire "to return Commodore Perry's visit." Yamamoto's death will not, of course, affect Japanese war policy. There are at least a dozen other leading Japanese militarists who are filled with the same all-consuming hatred of the United States. But it is doubtful whether the Japanese have another naval leader who can begin to fill his boots.

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HEARINGS ON THE REPEAL OF THE CHINESE Exclusion Act have been started by the House Immigration and Naturalization Committee. From a quantitative standpoint the proposal may seem unimportant. If, as is proposed, the Chinese were granted full equality with other nations under the quota system, only about 100 persons could be admitted in the course of a single year. Possibly 20,000 Chinese now in this country would become eligible for citizenship should they desire it. These numbers are insignificant as compared either with the population of the United States or with that of China. But the removal of the sixty-one-year-old discrimination against the Chinese at this time would be of immense value in building United Nations unity. The Chinese have long attached considerable significance to the restrictions as a symbol of outmoded ideas of white supremacy and Oriental inferiority. This feeling has undoubtedly aggravated the Chinese suspicion that our "beat Hitler first" policy was at bottom another example of anti-Oriental bias. Such suspicions could be exploded overnight by placing the Chinese in a position of full equality in our laws. And, incidentally, such action would destroy the propaganda value of Japan's pretense that this is a "white man's war" to enslave the peoples of Asia.

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FOR THE COLLECTOR OF ODDITIES IN THE news, last week provided a better than average crop. From Tokyo came proof that though a prophet may be without honor in his own country he can count on plenty of honor from his country's enemies provided he is, like Colonel McCormick, the right kind of prophet. The Colonel's campaign for deepening Anglo-American friendship by conferring statehood on England, Scotland, Wales, and the British dominions brought him nothing closer to honor than a horse laugh until word of it reached Japan. There recognition was instant and went out over the short wave: "Robert McCormick is an extremely charming character. America today needs many more characters like this Chicago veteran. There is the possibility that other influential newspapers such as the New York *Daily News* and the Washington *Times-Herald* also may join the campaign, and they will have tremendous influence over the reading public." . . . Happily timed with the visit of President Benes comes word that the famous "Hapsburg Legion" is no more. Several months ago the War Department reluctantly abandoned its experiment of forcibly making "Free Austrian" legionnaires out of Czechs, Serbs, and other natives of what was once the hated Hapsburg Empire. As a result, it now finds it impossible "to obtain sufficient personnel of the qualifications necessary" to form a battalion, the "Emperor's" call to arms notwithstanding. . . . To Martin Dies the dissolution of the Comintern means the end of a task well done. "I believe it will enable us to wind up our work at an early date," says Mr. Dies, obviously too tired after five years' work on Comintern agents to shift his attention to those of the Anti-Comintern. . . . Double talk distilled to a fine art is heard from Rome, where Virginio Gayda puts the innocent question: "What are the terms Washington and London might be prepared to offer us in exchange for unconditional surrender?"

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Churchill and Chandler

SENATOR CHANDLER has some reputation as a swimmer—or at least as the recipient of a gift pool which occasioned some political debate—but when he dives into global strategy he immediately gets out of his depth. Last week, applauded and egged on by the old isolationist crowd, he told the Senate that we should no longer regard the defeat of Germany as our first objective but should turn all our forces against Japan, recognizing it as the "chief enemy of the American people." This is a legitimate, if debatable, proposal, but the arguments which the Senator used to support his case not only showed a feeble grasp of strategic principles but a complete political irresponsibility.

We must, he declared, attack Japan first because after Germany has been defeated we can count on neither Russia nor Britain to aid us in the Far East. Accusing the former of an unfriendly act in making the recent fisheries agreement with Japan, he suggested that once the Russians had freed their soil of Nazis they would be perfectly content to settle down peacefully while we battled the Japanese. Moreover, while we were thus occupied, Moscow would dictate a settlement of Europe which would be unacceptable to the United States. At the same time he accused Britain of maintaining a large idle army in India and doing nothing to force open the Burma road and bring aid to China.

Senator Chandler claims to be a realist, but it is a curious kind of realism that not merely publicly questions the good faith of our two chief allies but ignores the fact that both of them have a very large stake in the Far East and the suppression of Japanese imperialism. We can imagine, then, that this Senatorial intervention must have caused as much dismay in London and Moscow as it occasioned pleasure in Berlin. To be sure, the senior Senator from Kentucky is not an outstanding figure in Congress, but since he is a member of the Military Affairs Committee our allies may attach some weight to his words. Moreover, as I. F. Stone reports on another page, he and his friends have assiduously spread the impression that his speech reflected the opinions of the General Staff. It is so unbecoming, to put it mildly, for high officers to use lobby methods to bring pressure on their commander-in-chief that we should prefer to believe Walter Lippmann's explanation "that Senator Chandler had heard and was repeating odds and ends of military gossip and theorizing."

It is difficult to imagine, for instance, what general would be willing to back the Senator's dictum that, with the North African campaign successfully concluded, Germany is put completely on the defensive and could not possibly knock out either Britain or Russia. That may be true if we follow up the Allied victory in Tunisia, but should we lose the momentum which that victory has given us and sit down for a long-distance siege of Fortress Europe we should soon forfeit the initiative. For, as the Senator is apparently unaware, practically every military expert agrees that the German army is still an immensely powerful weapon, and if its full weight were thrown against Russia, as it could be if we assumed a passive attitude in the west, a disastrous defeat of the Red Army would be by no means impossible.

In his powerful and illuminating address to Congress, which was in part a reply to Chandler, Prime Minister Churchill declared: "In the conferences in January, 1942, between the President and myself and between our high expert advisers, it was evident that while the defeat of Japan would not mean the defeat of Germany, the defeat of Germany would infallibly mean the ruin of Japan." The Senator does not agree because he does not realize that the essential factor in the defeat of Japan will be sea power (including sea-borne air power). Until we can put an overwhelming naval force in the Pacific and Indian oceans, we can only attack the periphery of the ill-gotten Japanese empire. If such a force were available, the reconquest of Burma would not be long delayed, for then a landing could be made near Rangoon and the Indian army would be freed of the almost insuperable problem in logistics offered by the mountains and jungles of western Burma.

With the defeat of the Axis in Europe the day will come when the British navy will be released from its vigils in the North Atlantic and the Mediterranean and joined to the United States navy. Then we shall be able to challenge the bulwark of Japan's power—its battle fleet—with a superiority of force that will be irresistible. Then we can cut the communications without which an island empire must soon wither and die. That is why the defeat of Germany will "infallibly mean the ruin of Japan."

It does not follow that the advocates of a "Hitler first" strategy are content to pursue a purely defensive policy in the Pacific. As *The Nation* has frequently pointed out, it is highly important to strengthen China, particularly in the air, and to interfere as much as possible with Japan's efforts to exploit its conquests. Our forces in the Pacific are constantly engaged in harassing the enemy, and there is reason to believe that resources will soon be provided to enable the scale of these efforts to be magnified. Certainly every step taken toward freeing the Mediterranean enlarges the prospects of reinforcing the Far East.

But Europe is and should remain the primary front unless our national policy is to be set by a handful of politicians and military men who would like to see both Russia and Britain exhausted by a war of attrition. This is not the policy of the President nor, we believe, of the great majority of the American people. For they realize the essential truth of Winston Churchill's warning of

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the grave danger of unduly prolonging the war. "No one can tell," he said, "what new complications and perils might arise in four or five more years of war, and it is in the dragging out of war at enormous expense till the democracies are tired or bored or split that the main hopes of Germany and Japan must now reside." It is on speeches like that of Senator Chandler's that such hopes prosper.

The House Disgraces Itself

THE issues involved in the Lovett, Watson, and Dodd cases go to the very root of our system of government, and the whole affair, unless properly resolved, points in the direction of an un-American America of which we should all be ashamed. We wish that every American could read the statement made by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes to the Senate Appropriations Committee in defense of Robert Morss Lovett. Few public officials, in these disgraceful days of reaction at Washington, have had the courage to speak out against the attempt to force the discharge without trial of government employees by legislative fiat. None has more ably and forcefully presented the basic questions involved.

When the House, by a vote of 317 to 62, voted these three men out of their jobs, it showed more ignorance of, and contempt for, the principles of our government than any supposed revolutionary. The "purge" rider attached to an urgent war appropriation bill violates the principle of separation of powers. The Fathers in the first Congress recognized—and the Supreme Court has upheld their view—that Congress cannot remove an employee of the executive without interfering with a coordinate branch of the government. To brand a man as subversive and discharge him from office by legislative vote is to act by bill of attainder, a process made hateful by despotism and specifically forbidden by the Constitution. The Supreme Court, in a famous case, explained why. In so condemning a man, the court said, "the legislative body . . . exercises the power and office of judge . . . it pronounces upon the guilt of the party without any of the forms or safeguards of trial."

The accuracy of that description is attested to by the proceedings against Lovett. Lovett was examined by the Kerr committee for two hours on a day's notice. "He had no detailed specifications of the charges against him," Secretary Ickes said. "He had no counsel." The Department of the Interior was not even permitted to send its solicitor as an observer. No transcript was made available afterward to Lovett, to the department which employs him, or even to the Congressmen who voted his discharge.

"A man under our Constitution," Secretary Ickes told the Senate committee, "is entitled to counsel when tried even for minor criminal offenses. . . . Here the charge, subversive activity against our government in time of war, is far more serious. The penalty, a reflection upon the man's good name and the loss of his livelihood, is far greater. The issues, involving the balance of the whole of his past life, are far more complicated. Yet the Kerr committee not only denied the right of counsel but conducted its interrogation in a secret session, the transcript of which is still unavailable. This, I submit, is not the American way to do things. This indeed is 'un-American' activity."

As professor of English literature, as editor, as critic, as public official, and as an anti-fascist, Lovett commands our deepest respect; his life and record need no defense against ignorant and bigoted men. One may only note in passing that the man who was for twenty years president of the League for Industrial Democracy, an organization continuously under attack by the Communists, has now been branded "communistic." More important is the semblance of legality given to the proceedings by the Kerr committee's claim that six of the organizations to which Lovett belonged were found "within the scope of Public Law 135 and Public Law 644 by the Department of Justice." But the Attorney General, in response to an inquiry from Secretary Ickes, explains that these organizations, though branded as "front" groups, "were not regarded as 'subversive.'" They were not so regarded, the Attorney General said, because their programs "were legitimate and frequently commendable on their face," and because they "attracted the membership or participation of large numbers of persons who were animated by liberal and patriotic purposes." It is a pity Mr. Biddle did not explain this a long time ago to the FBI and the Civil Service Commission.

The most shocking thing in this whole shocking affair is that a great and good American like Lovett, who lost his only son in the last war, should be hounded and smeared on the testimony of two of the most unsavory witnesses the Kerr and Dies committees could have found. One is Elizabeth Dilling, now under indictment for sedition; the other is Walter Steele, a professional peddler of anti-Semitic and fascistic propaganda. Steele's organizations, Secretary Ickes said, "have been on the regular mailing lists of the German propaganda machine, and are officered or indorsed by men such as Aryan and Sanctuary, now under indictment for sedition. These are the people used by the Kerr committee to brand as disloyal a patriotic American citizen."

We look to the Senate in the Lovett, Watson, and Dodd cases not so much to right a wrong as to reestablish American principles and wipe out the shame all Americans must feel at the action of the House. We applaud such conservatives as Hobbs of Alabama for their brave stand in defense of these men. And we condemn both the Democratic and Republican leaderships

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in the House for adding the last final un-American touch to this whole un-American affair by allocating to the defenders of Lovett, Watson, and Dodd only twelve minutes out of the two hours assigned to the debate, and permitting only two of them, Hobbs and Marcantonio, to speak.

End of the Comintern

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

STALIN'S dissolution of the Third International was an act of political war—and it is in these terms that it must be judged. Whatever its secondary purposes or effects may be, and they are both intricate and far-reaching, its primary object was to direct an offensive blow against Hitler's one remaining political weapon—exploitation of the fear of Communist revolution.

This weapon was double-edged; it was employed with equal effect in Nazi-controlled Europe and in the ranks of the Allies. The fact that even in the United States one could find honest and misguided patriots whose fears of bolshevism were strong enough to dilute their hatred of Nazism, gave Hitler's anti-Comintern propaganda a continuing value. We have only to recall the antics of Dies and his fellow witch-hunters, dramatized just this past week in the unbelievable attack on Robert Morss Lovett, to recognize how effective the weapon still is. The fanatic excesses of the Dieses and Kerrs may be taken as symbols of that pervasive dread of revolution which, ever since Hitler's rise to power, has corrupted and weakened the foreign policy of all the major powers, and which continues to divide the anti-Axis forces even in the midst of a worldwide struggle for survival.

And if the fear of Moscow has tended to paralyze the allies of Moscow, it has undoubtedly been still more effective in rallying the depleted and frightened forces of reaction in Europe. Hitler's dream of world dominion has evaporated in North Africa, on the eastern front, in the face of imminent invasion in the west. Only Fortress Europe remained—and the dread of Communist revolution in the wake of Allied victory. This was Hitler's one surviving story, and he had every reason to try to stick to it; the old weapon had served him well from the day of his first street brawl to the present hour of decision.

Stalin, with a single stroke, has taken it from his hand. Nothing is left to the German Propaganda Ministry but empty cries of "fake" and "trickery"—cries which sound peculiarly hollow emerging from the best-equipped fake factory in Europe.

As important as the disintegration of Axis morale is the strengthening of Allied unity. The immediate response of the anti-Axis powers has been warm approval and an assumption that closer military and political cooperation will be a certain result. Again we may adopt the convenient Martin Dies as a guide to the minds of more sober and important men. Mr. Dies, informed of the action taken in Moscow, immediately announced his intention to wind up the affairs of his Committee on Un-American Activities. This was more than an ingenuous admission that the activities of the committee—as liberals always charged and as Mr. Dies always denied—have been directed against those labeled Communist rather than against fascists. Mr. Dies's reaction to the announcement from Moscow revealed the degree to which prevailing suspicions of Russia have been tied up with existence of the international Communist organization whose ostensible purpose—however it may have deviated from it in practice—was world revolution. The formal wiping out of that body, together with the explicit repudiation of its aims, will undoubtedly dissipate most of the fears that have infected government agencies, from foreign office to the least important legislative committee, in every Allied country.

It is beside the point to argue that the fears were groundless, that the Comintern in 1935 shelved its revolutionary objectives in favor of a people's front against fascist aggression—a short-range program aimed at the prevention of war and the defense of Russia. It is even beside the point that Russia has for the same reasons opposed revolution in every country where it threatened. All this is true. But public officials are seldom either highly informed or courageous. They are more impressed by appearances than facts. If the Comintern has become a ghost of its former revolutionary self, Nazi propaganda has armed it to the teeth and turned it into a specter calculated to frighten the timid and superstitious. By his gesture of exorcism Stalin has made possible a unity in program and action which would never have been achieved as long as the ghost walked.

Whether his move will serve equally well to unify the forces of the left is more questionable. The factional schisms which have split the labor movement and the ranks of political radicalism are deep. They will not be healed overnight. Indeed, for the workers in all countries the Moscow decision opens as many questions as it settles, questions which demand the most detailed and honest analysis. The perspectives of possible change in relationships and political strategy are almost unlimited. They will be discussed in these pages from week to week in all their important aspects. For the moment they are of secondary significance. The world is at war. The primary consideration is not the future of the Communist parties or their relations with other radical groups, or even the possible rise of new revolutionary alignments. The job in hand is to cement the Allied powers in a tough, durable, aggressive union, to infuse it with all the progressive vision and energy available, and to drive through to victory and a decent peace. Viewed in this light Stalin's act is above criticism.

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General Marshall Should Explain

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 24

THE best clue to the difficulties with which the President has to contend, and likewise the best clue to the drift of discussion at Anglo-American staff conferences, lies in the "beat Japan first" debate in the Senate. Senator Chandler's speeches on that occasion and over the air the next day leave the impression (1) that General George C. Marshall, the army chief of staff, disagrees with the strategy of his commander-in-chief, the President, and (2) that he disagrees so strongly as to forget his duty as a soldier and encourage attacks in Congress upon his commander-in-chief. I am only saying publicly what many informed people here are saying privately. What is being said is a natural conclusion for anyone to draw who read last Monday's *Congressional Record* or heard Senator Chandler's radio speech. If what Chandler and his Senatorial allies said gives a false impression of what General Marshall and his colleagues on the General Staff are thinking, the General can easily correct that impression and clear himself. He is a very fine and likable man, but he has acquired some strange friends in the Senate, and they have succeeded in making him appear insubordinate. This is a grave charge, and I hope the General can show that it is unfounded.

The facts are these: The President and the Prime Minister, in a global war that has forced the most unfortunate dispersion of our forces, have decided that it is best to concentrate as much as possible on the European theater first. That choice is dictated by military and political necessities. We cannot defeat both Germany and Japan at the very same time. Should Germany defeat Russia or force a separate peace on Moscow, and thus be free to hurl the *Wehrmacht* west, we should pay with many additional years of struggle and many additional lives for that disaster. Should the Soviets feel that we and the British were disposed to fight this war on Wimpy's principle—"let's you and him fight"—they would surely seek some way out, if not in a separate peace, then in an undeclared truce.

That fundamental decision was made some time ago. The Prime Minister comes to Washington for a military conference with the President and their respective military and naval advisers to implement that decision. While they confer, an attack is made in the Senate on that fundamental decision. A group of Senators speak up for the strategy of "beat Japan first." The main speech is made by Chandler of Kentucky. He is supported by Wheeler, Tydings, Shipstead, Vandenberg, Clark of Missouri, Bridges, and Brooks. No one questions their right to speak, though much of what they said was made to order for the propaganda Goebbels beams at Moscow. Most of them are associated with isolationist and appeasement policies, and some of them have been much more critical of the Russians and the British than they have been of the Germans. They speak as though by concert, and they are full of mysterious intimations that they speak for General Marshall and also Admiral King. Chandler says he was "encouraged" to make his speech. He says he is voicing not only his own feelings "but the feeling of quite a number of military and naval men." Tydings offers to retract what he has said "if General Marshall and Admiral King believe it is wise to do what is now being done." The day after the debate Chandler goes on the air, praises General Marshall, expresses the hope that Marshall will "continue to direct the military policies of our government," and says it would be "a serious blow to our people if anything happened that would deprive the people of this country of his valuable services as chief of the General Staff." Does Chandler think Marshall might be removed for appealing over the head of his commander-in-chief?

Churchill answers some of the questions raised in the Senate debate. Oddly enough, he praises "the wisdom of the founders of the American Constitution," for making the President the commander-in-chief. Churchill points out how remarkable it is that 150 years later "this combination of political and military authority has been found necessary not only in the United States, but in the case of Marshal Stalin in Russia and of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in China." Churchill says dryly that even he, as majority leader of the Commons, has been drawn "from time to time . . . into some participation in military affairs." Why did Churchill feel it necessary to discuss this basic constitutional question?

The "beat Japan first" bloc intimated that the President was not taking the advice of his military and naval leaders. One may pause a moment and recall that it was General Marshall who held a press conference soon after June 22, 1941, and gave out the authoritative opinion that it would take Hitler only a couple of months to clean up the Red Army. Other instances of military and naval miscalculation—Pearl Harborism—have not been unknown in recent years. But if one reads the *Congressional Record* carefully one will see that the basic objection of the "beat Japan first" group and the military-naval men for whom it speaks is not military but political. The fear

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expressed is that if we help the Russians and the British to defeat the Germans, they will be too strong to accept our dictation at the peace conference; they will "divide Europe between them." These Senators, many of them isolationists, one or two not unsympathetic to German aims in the past, who thought Hitler's conquests no affair of ours, are now afraid that Russia may want to control—the Bosphorus! This is old-fashioned imperialist politics, not military strategy. The General Staff, which still has plenty to learn about military matters, has been dabbling in politics, domestic and foreign.

Obviously there are the most dangerous tendencies at work here. The first is our oldest and most deadly enemy, complacency. The assumption is that Hitler has been defeated, though he lost but 15 divisions in Tunisia and still has 218 on the Russian front. The second is callousness. We can safely leave the Russians to do the job, and bleed to death in the process. The third is the red bogy—why not let Hitler destroy communism for us? (This once also impressed Chamberlain and Daladier.) The fourth is the persistent belief that a war can somehow be won without fighting; once we thought we could draw a ring around Japan and now we think we can draw a ring around Germany, and win by a leisurely combination of bombing and blockade. "I have reason to believe," Chandler said, "that the American fighting men in all services would rather make it a war of attrition." We shall be hearing more of this "war of attrition." It corresponds to the wishes of some in the big-business crowd, as does much of the politics in this "beat Japan first" strategy. Two weeks ago the president of a great radio company explained to his stockholders that he would be able to resume civilian production a few months after the end of the war. But, said he, if we decided to wage "a war of attrition," civilian production might be resumed *before* the war was over. Some people visualize "a war of attrition" as a much less costly affair in men, money, and materials, a war which can be waged on part time, as it were, while we turn our attention to more profitable pursuits.

What Americans Think

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

THE people of America are fighting this war wholeheartedly. Most of them would like to fight it harder, if they knew how to go about it. They are far ahead of the Administration both in willingness to sacrifice and in their desire to take positive action now toward setting up an international organization to prevent future wars. I make these assertions after talking with thousands of Americans in all walks of life during a recent 15,000-mile trip through every section of the country. And my impressions are borne out by such fragmentary data as are available from public-opinion polls—the Gallup and *Fortune* polls and those of the National Opinion Research Center in Denver and the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton.

Easterners are apt to assume that "out in the sticks they don't even know there's a war on." The fact is that people in the small towns have a greater personal stake in the war than city folk. Families are larger; everyone knows everyone else; the whole community keeps tabs on its boys at the front. When a Lawrenceville, Georgia, boy is wounded by the Japanese somewhere in the South Pacific, the whole town buzzes with excitement. And when an outstanding high-school athlete of Spirit Lake, Iowa, turns up missing in North Africa, all Iowa parents are concerned about his safety.

The South is the most belligerent region, now as before the war, though its fighting spirit is dampened on the home front by bickering over the racial issue and by the political attacks of Southern Democrats on the Administration. Strongly Catholic areas in the East have mixed feelings about the war because of their deeply ingrained antipathy to Russia. But in both regions the people generally are solidly behind the war effort.

The West is bound up heart and soul in the war in the Pacific. The emotional impact of the Pearl Harbor attack, followed by the invasion of the outer Aleutians, the bombing of Dutch Harbor, and the scattered shelling of West Coast points by Japanese submarines a year ago, produced an acute awareness of the danger from Japan. In addition, the boom in shipbuilding and aircraft production and the shortages of farm labor and foods have brought about drastic economic changes on the Coast.

The Middle West seems much less directly concerned with the war. There is a qualitative rather than a quantitative difference. Isolationism in its pre-war sense has disappeared here almost as completely as elsewhere in the country, but the war seems somehow distant: the lights are on, black markets are prevalent, and business goes on pretty much as usual except that it has shifted to war production. Though the polls do not show that the Middle West differs much from other large regions in its attitude toward the war, I was conscious of less emotional fervor and more complacency.

Signs of the "new isolationism" are also most in evi-

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dence there. This is the protective war-time coloration assumed by diehard isolationists. The necessity of winning the war is never questioned—opposition is indirect and appears mainly in these four forms:

1. An unwillingness to consider positive plans for the post-war world at this time. There is sniping at Willkie, Wallace, and other exponents of post-war internationalism. "The government is trying to railroad us into some new League of Nations," a Wisconsin school teacher told me. "Why should we worry about a quart of milk for every Hottentot?" He was one of many Middle Westerners taken in by the false interpretation of Wallace's speech spread by the National Association of Manufacturers. The corollary to this attitude is a tendency to criticize virtually every Administration act and policy.

2. Distrust of our Allies, particularly Russia. Whenever the Red Army wins a spectacular victory, the Chicago *Tribune* and its satellites raise the bogy of Russia as a dangerous enemy in the post-war world.

3. A new imperialism, which stresses the necessity of (a) dominating the Western Hemisphere, (b) holding the military bases we have rented or borrowed for the duration of the war, (c) acquiring new bases, especially in the South Pacific and Southeast Asia, and (d) placing full reliance on a powerful American navy and air force, which will supposedly enable us to preserve the peace by dominating the entire world.

4. A potential willingness to appease the enemy, based on the view that our real enemies in Europe are Hitler and the top Nazi leaders rather than the whole German military machine.

These views are held by only a minority of the people —probably far less than 25 per cent—even in the most isolationist sections of the Middle West. But the minority is highly vocal, and through its press it is capable of producing doubt and confusion in the minds of a much larger number.

Strangely enough, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the strongly Republican Plains States are apparently less susceptible to these influences than the East Central States —Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan. The opinion polls have shown less division in the first section not only on the question of pre-war isolationism but also, more recently, on whether Russia can be trusted after the war and whether the United Nations should set up an international police force to preserve the peace. In Minnesota the sharp trend of opinion away from isolationism in any form is symbolized by the tremendous popular support given to Governor Harold Stassen. Stassen's advocacy of a United Nations government and Senator Ball's effort to put the Senate on record in favor of an international police force have been acclaimed by Minnesotans of all political parties, including many Farmer-Laborites.

I found almost no evidence of anti-Semitism in the Northwest and West Central States. Except in Minneapolis no one considered it to be a serious problem. The well-worn anecdote to the effect that the first American soldier to set foot on overseas territory was an Irishman but the first American business man to get a defense contract was a Jew turned up in several places, but no one took it seriously. The most telling comment was that of an Omaha social worker who said, "Why look for anti-Semitism out here? When I was in New York and Washington last summer I was shocked by the anti-Jewish talk I heard. I'd never heard anything like it in these parts." In the country as a whole the National Opinion Research Center found early this year that nearly half the people thought the Jews had "too much influence in the business world."

The American people do not question the necessity of fighting this war through to the end. Not one in ten favors seeking an early peace through some sort of compromise. Nevertheless, only two-thirds claim to have a clear idea of what we are fighting for. This is an improvement over the early months of the war, when only half of us had a fair notion of what it was all about; but it still casts a grave reflection on the government's failure to formulate specific war aims and its inadequate information policy.

Criticism of the latter is common everywhere. There is a universal feeling that our military bigwigs hold up unfavorable news much longer than the necessity of withholding information from the enemy requires. I heard widespread discussion, all of it adverse, when the story of Japanese losses in a naval battle in the South Pacific was released a day earlier than a report of our own losses. Another common complaint is that American casualty lists are not published from day to day or week to week. Many persons think that detailed reports of casualties would help to keep us on our toes.

By and large, the people approve of the job the President is doing, although not without qualifications. The percentage expressing approval dropped from about 80 to 70 per cent during the Congressional-election campaign, rose sharply after the North African invasion, and stood at 75 per cent once more early this year. A plurality of voters favors Roosevelt for President in 1944—but only if the war is still on.

Even the President's supporters express many criticisms of Washington policies. A remark I heard very frequently was that "bureaucracy is getting out of hand; the government has too many employees, and there is too much duplication of functions." The Administration is also accused of a vacillating policy on questions which affect the lives of almost everyone. Resentment is especially high because of the delay in settling such problems as the control of man-power, the size of the army, and the drafting of fathers. According to the Gallup poll, five-sixths of the people approve of the Selective Service system, a slight majority favor drafting man-power for our war

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industries where necessary, and three-fourths of all war workers and others are willing to work a minimum forty-eight-hour week.

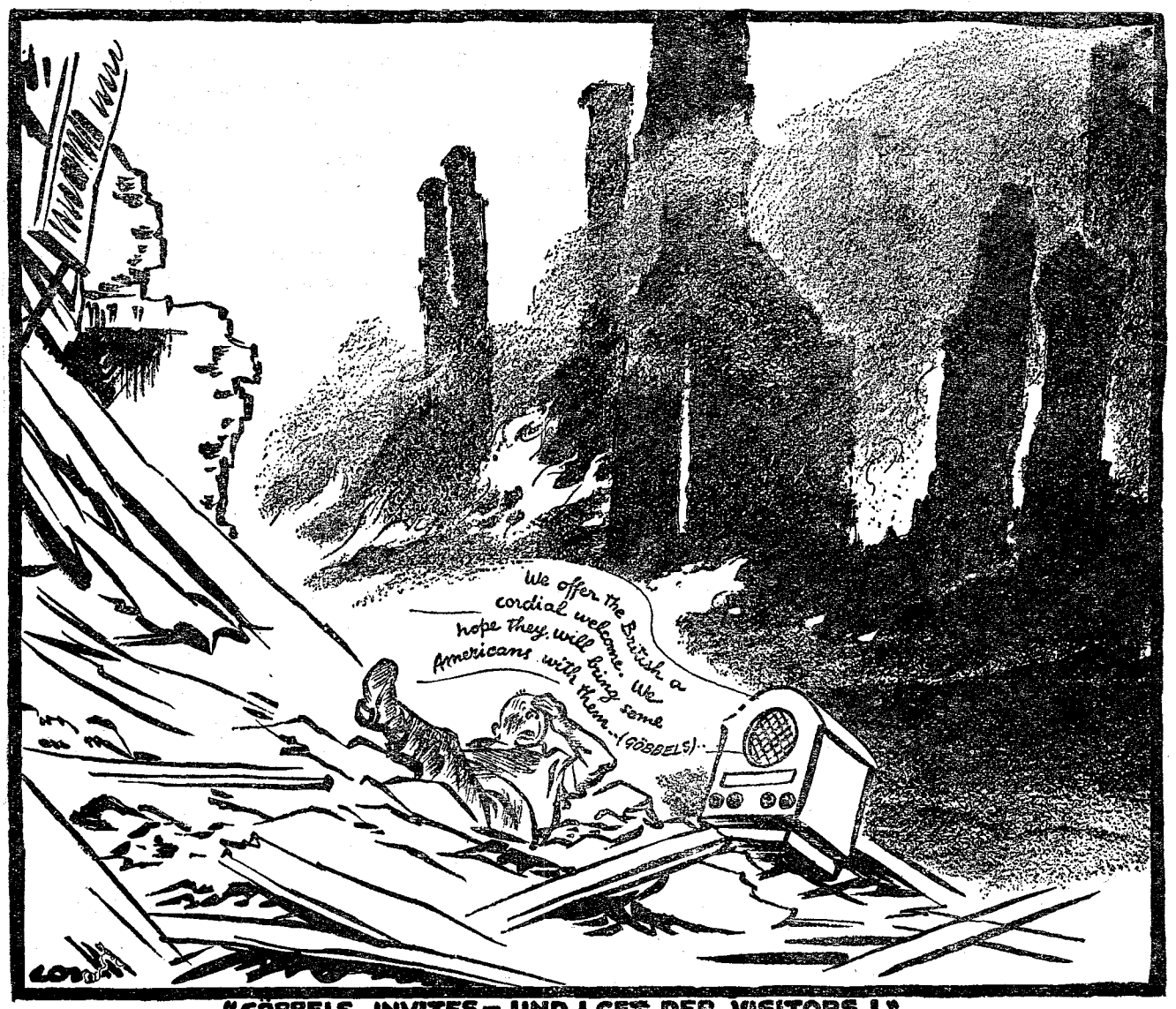
Four-fifths of the people accept rationing as necessary, but they don't like some of the methods by which it has been placed in effect. Most people favor the surprise technique used in instituting shoe rationing. Announcements that coffee and canned goods were to be rationed seemed to most people a major blunder, since nothing was done to prevent hoarding. Meat shortages in the West and in boom towns elsewhere have focused much regional resentment upon the OPA's failure to take sufficiently into account such matters as freight rates and population changes. Minor nuisances such as the "tire inspection racket" and the ill-considered temporary ban on sliced bread are considered most irritating of all.

Political bickering in Washington comes in for a good share of homespun cussing. Many liberally inclined persons with whom I talked condemned Congressional sniping at the President; a few conservatives were outraged by Roosevelt's alleged ambitions for a fourth term. All factions joined in deploring the personal feuds among Washington executives. The slowness of Congress and the Administration in getting together on some form of pay-as-you-go tax legislation has been hard for most citizens to stomach. The Gallup poll showed that two-thirds of the people favored changing to a current basis as long ago as last November, and by March the proportion had risen to three-fourths of all employed taxpayers.

I found the majority of people critical of the Administration's labor policy, to which they attribute jurisdictional disputes and wildcat stoppages in war industry. A ban on strikes during war time is favored by 64 per cent both of the public and of war workers themselves, according to a Gallup poll taken in May.

Criticism of our State Department's policies in North Africa and Spain is usual in liberal circles. Although the general public seems little conscious of the issues, the well-informed minority feels intensely about them. In addition, on the West Coast the feeling prevails that our diplomats and military leaders are slighting the Chinese to send help to our European allies.

Mainly because of the belief that it will take longer to defeat Japan than Germany, most people think that the Japanese are the greater military threat to this country. Racial feeling is high against Japan. Almost half of



"GÖBBELS INVITES— UND I GET DER VISITORS!"

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us feel that not only the Japanese government but the Japanese nation is our major enemy, whereas in the case of Germany nearly three-fourths of us hold that the Nazi government rather than the German people is the real foe. Anti-Japanese feeling runs highest on the Pacific Coast, of course, but it is strong in every region. Evidence of this is the agitation against relocation of evacuated Japanese in Colorado, Wyoming, and Arkansas. In Jackson, Michigan, I found that the town had been almost torn asunder by a proposal of the Y. W. C. A. to allow a Nisei girl to attend Jackson Junior College. The local press fought the plan, and it was finally killed by the board of education.

This war differs from the last in one very important respect. This time our eyes are on the post-war world. We are determined to try to prevent future wars, even though we have little confidence that it will be possible to do so. And we are worried about the economic slump which may follow the war. At the turn of the year the Gallup poll asked this question: "Aside from winning the war, what do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?" Here are the main answers: the economic situation, the necessity to prevent inflation and another depression—16 per cent; the food shortage here and abroad and the need for more food production—12 per cent; to make a lasting peace, to end future wars—11 per cent; the farm-labor shortage, the man-power problem—10 per cent; post-war conditions, reconstruction of the world—8 per cent; a job for everyone after the war, prevent unemployment—7 per cent.

Gallup polls have found that nine-tenths of the people have definite ideas about what should be done after the war. Early this year 76 per cent thought that we should "take an active part in world affairs" rather than "stay out of world affairs as much as we can." This was a new high in internationalism. Those holding the minority (isolationist) view dropped from about 26 per cent of all persons questioned in October of last year to 14 per cent in January, 1943. Furthermore, 74 per cent of all persons questioned in April felt that "the countries fighting the Axis should set up an international police force after the war was over to try to preserve peace throughout the world." This strong majority sentiment for a measure which was approved by only 46 per cent in August, 1939, stands in glaring contrast to the refusal of the Senate to commit itself on the same issue when it was polled by the Associated Press in April.

The National Opinion Research Center similarly found in January that 74 per cent of us were favorable to the notion of the United States joining a "union of nations" after this war. In order to "try out a union of nations as a possible way of preventing wars," a clear majority of us are willing (1) "to stay on a rationing system in this country for about five years to help feed the starving people of other countries"; (2) "to pay more taxes for a few years while the new union is being organized, even if people in the other countries can't afford to pay as much"; and (3) "to allow part of the American army to remain overseas for several years after the war to help establish order."

The things a majority of us are not willing to do include (1) giving up our army, navy, and air force, even though all other nations should be willing to do so; (2) forgetting about reparations payments; (3) "allowing foreign goods to come into this country and compete with the things we grow or make here—even if the prices are lower." The inconsistencies of these views show the need for further education if popular enthusiasm for post-war planning is not to be sidetracked by misunderstanding of what is needed for a constructive peace.

The Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill proposal for a United Nations government to police the world provoked widespread discussion. This was the first definite plan for the post-war world offered in high official circles, and the way the people grasped at it was an indication of their psychological need for more positive war aims. "It's about time they did something to see that there won't be another world war about the time my grandchildren are grown up," an elderly Indiana woman told me. On the steps of a Kentucky hotel I heard an Administration Democrat deliver a diatribe against Roosevelt for not giving his full support to the Ball resolution. "He ought to hang his head in shame," he said. "Here he's been advocating collective security and quarantining the aggressors all these years, and when some Republican Senators offer him their support, what does he do? Plays party politics, instead of accepting it like a gift from heaven."

A small opinion poll in Valparaiso, Indiana, using return postcards, obtained replies 83 per cent in the affirmative to the question, "Should the government take steps now, during the war, with our allies to set up a world organization to preserve the peace?" But the important thing was the high degree of interest shown: 27 per cent of the people polled—a new high record—took the trouble to mail back their ballots, as compared with less than 10 per cent on questions concerning voting age and other domestic issues.

There is less active interest in domestic than in international post-war problems, owing partly to our incurable American optimism, always strong in good times. Gallup found in April that four-fifths of those now employed believed their jobs would continue after the war. Of those who did not think so, only one in twenty anticipated much difficulty in finding a new job. *Fortune* found that young people were least optimistic; 38 per cent believed that "young men after this war are going to have a better chance to get ahead than young men had before this war," while 37 per cent thought the opposite.

Since neither the press nor the Administration did

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justice to the report of the National Resources Planning Board on post-war social security, in April only a third of the people had heard of the board's plan for the post-war period. (If Gallup had asked whether they had heard of "the Administration's 'cradle-to-the-grave' security plan," the results might have been very different.) Of those who had heard of the plan, 70 per cent favored it; only 18 per cent opposed it.

There are weak spots in our domestic armor, to be sure. There is the racial question in the South, which is being exploited by self-seeking politicians under the old slogan of "white supremacy." The Administration's fence-straddling has served only to antagonize Southern whites, Northern Negroes, and liberals alike. There is low morale in some of our war industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft. This results from the prevalent beliefs that the government is keeping wages down but failing to control prices accordingly; that the industrialists are waxing fat on war profits; and that labor and materials are being wasted through poor planning and supervision. *Fortune* found late last year that 48 per cent of all factory workers believed that "war production can be made to go faster." More than a third of them said specifically that "more efficient operation of plants, better scheduling and flow of materials, elimination of waste," and similar improvements were necessary. And there is political agitation, particularly on the fourth-term issue, by Republicans and Southern Democrats who seem more intent on beating Roosevelt than on defeating the Axis.

But in spite of these danger signals, which are in some degree inevitable in a democracy, America as a nation is waging the shooting war with a determination we have never before exhibited. This is in a very real sense a people's war, and our citizens are resolved that it shall be a people's peace as well.

Goose-Step in Tishomingo

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

TISHOMINGO, Alfalfa Bill Murray's home town, in south central and darkest Oklahoma, was chosen with good reason as the location of a prison camp. God help the fugitive who tries to hide himself in the unsubstantial foliage of its gullies or to slip past the squinting eyes of the Bible-pounding natives. If they don't catch him, the Indians certainly will, or he will perish of bored inanition on Tishomingo's broad main street. The camp itself is a little under two miles to the south, on Route 99, close by the banks of the erratic Washita. It was finished over a month ago. Except for a tall double fence of wire, with a tower at each corner, inclosing one of the two clusters of green-roofed barracks, it looks like any ordinary small military camp. When I first visited it, the guards, a Military Police unit of 150 men, were already there, complaining of the isolation. They knew that the prisoners they were to guard would be prisoners of war, and had heard that they might be Germans but were not sure. Anyhow, whoever they turned out to be they would be put to work cutting down the nearby woods, for the land surrounding the camp will be flooded when the Denison Dam is completed. After the woods are cut, the camp will be torn down and the prisoners sent elsewhere.

Eighteen days later, on April 22, I saw a file of open trucks debouch into the main street of Tishomingo. Every other one was filled with helmeted soldiers armed with tommy-guns and shotguns. Sandwiched between were trucks packed with standing men in blue uniforms something like our old fatigue denims, with the fronts of the trousers red and the letters *PW* painted on the backs of the jackets. Some of the men in blue returned our gaze with smiles; others were grim or had the perturbed and doubtful expression of persons looking for the first time at a place to which they have been brought against their will and in which they expect to remain too long. Most of them were boys or hardly more than that, and a good half were blonds. They were Germans all right, for I heard them talking.

The following Sunday I walked over to the camp again. Sunday is the only day on which outsiders are allowed in the immediate area. The camp is at a point where the rolling country descends and smooths itself out into a flat valley. Little fat pigs were wallowing in the deep ditch where the road to the camp forked from the main road. Farther on a soldier in green fatigues was playing with a blacksnake four and a half feet long, holding it up by its tail. It kept raising its small sharp head to get at his hand but could not get enough leverage to reach all the way back.

Men were running and bounding about behind the barbed live wires of the high fence. I was allowed to come no closer than twenty-five yards to it, and the prisoners were held off another ten yards on the other side by a chalked line. If they crossed it they would be fired at after three commands to halt. The first prisoners I saw distinctly were a group of about twelve sitting on the new spring grass and playing cards. This time their

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clothes puzzled me, for many of them wore well-fitting blue breeches that looked not at all like fatigue dress. The guards told me that they were dyed World War I uniforms which had been issued by the German army as fatigues, and of which every prisoner had three sets.

One pink-skinned young blond wearing nothing but shorts was running around inside the chalk line with nice form except that he bent too far forward—probably because he had been trained to run with a pack on his back. Two or three others almost equally naked were doing cartwheels and somersaults in best German gymnastic style. Some were sun-bathing. Everybody's skin was surprisingly white but almost everybody looked well set-up and athletic. One, as he walked and talked with a companion, every now and then kicked up his legs in a smart-looking goose step—whether it was done absent-mindedly, out of physical exuberance, or to keep in practice, I could not tell, but it seemed to annoy the guards. "Look at the son of a bitch!" they would say every time the German began to swing his legs. A stout sergeant said that the lot of them should never have been taken prisoners in the first place but shot on the spot. (I can understand why it is the army's practice to change the guards at prison camps every two months or so; they may either become too attached to the prisoners or else get so irritated with them that they will shoot at them on the slightest provocation. Neither the guards nor anyone else is allowed to talk to the prisoners.)

It was from the guards that I got most of my information. There were 310 prisoners in all, part of an original group of 1,000 brought from Africa, all whom had been placed in camps in Oklahoma. Some of them had been through twelve days of continuous action before being captured; some had seen service before on the Russian front. I was told that one of the prisoners was only fourteen years old. Two I saw could not have been more than fifteen. They were walking back and forth and talking to each other with the gravity and the economy of movement and gesture of much older persons. Several others showed by twisted arms or scarred necks and faces that they had been wounded. The quiet, relaxed self-confidence with which the prisoners handled themselves surprised me; it was in such contrast to the dejection or resignation or maybe shamefaced relief one would expect of prisoners. But, then, they had told the interpreter stationed here that the guards would soon be handing their guns over to them. One of them, while being brought through New York, had expressed surprise at seeing the skyscrapers still standing. He had been told that New York had been bombed. When they had been asked why they got themselves out of their barracks at 4:30 in the morning to exercise when their reveille came only at 6, they had answered that they wanted to keep themselves fit for the day when the Führer would arrive in America. A week after my visit, on May 1, they celebrated the holiday the Nazis have substituted for *Pfingsten* by bringing a tree back to camp, setting it up in the compound, decorating it with garlands of flowers and birds cut out of cardboard, and then strutting around making speeches and heiling—although, according to the guards, it is against prison regulations to salute in Nazi fashion or *shout* "Heil Hitler."

As it happened, May 1 came on a Saturday, and the prisoners did not have to work. On their arrival each of them had been given the choice of signing up for work or doing nothing; but once having signed up, a man has to work every day except Saturday and Sunday, whether he wants to or not. Working hours are from around 7 to around 2:30 in the afternoon. The pay is 70 cents a day, of which 40 cents is placed to the prisoner's credit at the post exchange and the remainder withheld until eventual repatriation. They are issued the same food as their guards, and it is prepared in German style by their own cooks. The guards told me that at mess they never leave a scrap of food on their plates, so used are they to scarcity. But I, with my melodramatic imagination, wondered whether they might not be storing it for a break. One prisoner has lately got on the nerves of the guards by standing for hours on the chalk line, examining the fence and the tower installations with purposeful eyes. I myself noticed how intently the prisoners watched when the guards were being changed and were marching along the fence. But it may have been only a professional interest in things military, which the prisoners certainly have. They are intrigued by every military formality or piece of equipment they see.

The prisoners maintain their own army discipline under two top sergeants, who seem to be the only men among them close to forty. They rate salutes, unlike the non-commissioned officers in our army—whom the prisoners nevertheless insist on saluting as they do their own. In the German army the most common punishment for mild offenses is to deprive the culprit of a meal or two. The next degree of punishment is, rather abruptly, corporeal. One of the top sergeants asked the M. P. mess sergeant to withhold food from a disobedient prisoner—I believe it was a case in which the prisoner had chosen to obey an order from the lieutenant of the guards which conflicted with the top sergeant's orders. Anyhow, the mess sergeant refused the request and fed the man. The top sergeant immediately came into the mess hall where his man was eating, pulled him outside by the collar, and gave him a beating. I was told the man did not lift a hand in self-defense.

The guards admit that the Germans are willing and capable workers, eager to be helpful and lending a hand with any work they see being done around them even when they are not ordered to do so. They are also given credit for their stoic qualities. One of them who had gashed his foot with an ax and was brought to the medi-

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cal officer attached to our Air Force unit sat in the dispensary and stolidly watched the wound being sewn together without making a sound.

To remark these qualities in the prisoners is not encouraging. Unquestionably, Hitler has had good human material, from a military point of view, to work with. However, their age and their physical condition and the fact that the majority of them are parachutists or *Panzer* personnel indicate that most of these prisoners are picked troops, not altogether typical of the average German soldier. That they make such a show of Nazi ardor is more disquieting. It is possible to explain this—but not very convincingly, I feel—by the fact that they are more or less at the mercy of their non-commissioned officers, who could make life miserable for any prisoner not quite 100 per cent a Nazi.

Advertise for Victory

BY CHARLES NEIDER

THE advertising industry has undergone extensive changes since Pearl Harbor. Volume held up remarkably well during the first year of our participation in the war, considering that advertising in general has been falling steadily since the halcyon days of 1929, and its resiliency last year was something of a surprise even to the trade. As a whole it dropped about 5.5 per cent as compared with 1941, the expected decrease in automobile and other consumer-goods advertising being substantially offset by the increase in institutional ads and in advance bids for post-war business. In a study of newspaper linage in ninety-eight cities *Printer's Ink* found that industrial ads gained in all cities and accounted for 6 per cent of general advertising, whereas they accounted for only 2 per cent in 1941. Curiously enough, although the nation is smoking more cigarettes than ever before, tobacco linage dropped in all cities but one. The shift from consumer goods to industrial and institutional ads was indicated in a Lord and Thomas survey which reported that during the first seven months of the war competitive product ads dropped from 68 per cent to 38 per cent of all magazine copy analyzed.

Advertising depends on and inspires competition. In a nation doing most of its heavy business with the government, competition is minimized. This situation has its obvious advantages for business; on the other hand, business is desirous of keeping the public's good-will, protecting the popularity of its trade names, continuing its contacts with its dealers, and preparing for the post-war period, when cutthroat competition promises to flourish in all fields. And so business advertises heavily, even when it has nothing to sell to the public.

The New Deal, which has occasionally frightened advertising executives by implying that advertising is social waste, is in high favor among them now. It maintains, through the Treasury Department, what has been characterized by executives as a "benevolently indefinite" rule against allowing excessive advertising expenses as tax deductions—which means that anything goes short of murder. The Treasury Department's interpretation of what is excessive has at times irked advertising men, but they have found an invaluable ally in the Department of Commerce, which has consistently encouraged the use of widespread tax-free advertising. And this, too, is a factor in maintaining the high volume of war-time advertising.

With various types of war-time taxes adding up to about 90 per cent of income, large companies can buy up advertising space at something like ten cents on the dollar. Their liberality is readily understood, but what they do with that space has a national interest that transcends the soundness of their investment.

The picture is far from being all black. Many organizations soberly advertise the work they are doing for the government and remind the public that after the war they will be ready to serve the consumer efficiently and enthusiastically. Some attempt honestly to lift the general morale by telling of army and navy exploits and by displaying their army-navy "E's" with thanks to their employees. Others urge the public to buy war bonds, to conserve gas, and to reduce the number of long-distance telephone calls. The United States Rubber Company has been informing the public on the proper care of tires, and the Home Insurance Company of New York has been running an excellent series of fire-prevention ads.

Other concerns, however, have discovered the value of advertising as a medium for propaganda serving some special interest or private purpose. If you can urge the public to buy war bonds and to accept rationing intelligently, why not urge it to support imperialism, isolationism, the status quo, or "normalcy"? Why not do yourself a little good while keeping your name before the public at ten cents on the dollar?

A. N. Kemp, president of American Airlines, who seems to take delight in signing all his company's ads personally, has gone in extensively for advertising of this sort. As a Christmas present to readers of the New York *Times*, Mr. Kemp bought a full page in the issue of December 25. Centered against a background occupy-

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ing fully a third of the page hung a small star, beneath which, in large type, were the words "Global Peace." Mr. Kemp's special message of cheer to the American public was: "We look to the *sky* for the symbol of peace on *earth,* the Star of Bethlehem! Also, we look to the sky for victory in this *global* war. America must be dominant in the post-war *global air* so that we shall have Freedom and Peace on earth."

This note of air domination is echoed by others in the industry. In a recent ad in *Skyways,* the Century Aircraft Company of California used a full page to present the slogan: "Control of the Sky—an umbrella of safety under which wars can be won and a continuous peace assured." The increasing weight attached by the aircraft industry to the power of advertising was reduced to eloquent statistics in a survey of magazine, radio, and farm-paper advertising contained in *Printer's Ink* for February 5. Vultee Aircraft, according to the survey, spent nothing on advertising in 1939, only $4,200 in 1940, and $126,560 in 1942. Pan-American spent $276,384 in 1942 as against $3,086 in 1939. Cessna Aircraft, which spent not a cent as recently as 1940, spent $187,575 last year. Lockheed spent $68,300 in 1939, $87,625 in 1940, $226,565 in 1941, and $443,557 in our first year of the war. Bendix, which in 1940 spent $18,875, last year spent $384,720. Only two companies—American Airlines and United Air Lines—were fairly stable in their advertising expenditures. Both companies were paying out more than $100,000 for the purpose in 1939, when their competitors were spending comparatively insignificant sums. Their expenditures increased in 1940 and 1941 and dropped to their 1939 levels in 1942.

Among the corporations that have made persistent use of advertising to argue the case for pre-war laissez faire, the most blatant is the Nash-Kelvinator Corporation. In a series of ads captioned "Not Alone . . .," "When the Last Bomb Goes Home . . .," and "When You Come Back to Me . . .," Nash-Kelvinator has gone far to carry out the idea expressed by Homer McKee, vice-president of the advertising firm of Roche, Williams, and Cunnyngham. "The people must be told," said Mr. McKee in a speech cited in *Advertising Age,* "that if they hurt free enterprise they hurt the girl who works in the laundry, the cab driver, the white-collared clerk, the widow who, with trembling hands, clips the coupon that holds body and soul together."

But Nash-Kelvinator is far from alone in its service to the cause of the status quo. The McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, which puts out *Business Week* and *Aviation,* pleaded in six columns of the New York *Times* (January 3) for "seed money" for the aviation industry—and incidentally attacked our whole war-time tax structure. "In our proper anxiety to prevent inflation and control war profits," warned McGraw-Hill, "we have passed tax laws that are taking away most of the 'seed money' that aviation companies will need when the time comes to go it on their own in the post-war world. . . . The tax law, and government contracts, should allow American industry to accumulate funds for the numerous tasks of post-war development." In the April 6 issue of the *Times* the plea was broadened in behalf of American industry in general, and the attack on war taxes was more boldly articulated as an attack on the excess-profits law. The ad closed by asking readers to write to their Congressmen in objection to the law. The Beechnut Packing Company asks us not to "forget the spirit that built America—the spirit of free enterprise." *Reader's Digest* on February 18 paid for a full page of the *Times* to reprint an article by the president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States entitled "Your Stake in Capitalism." And the Chicago and Southern Air Lines Company advertises that it believes "in the American dream, in the resourcefulness of private enterprise and personal initiative, in the power of free men to serve a high statesmanship as well as the profit motive."

Inevitably the war has brought to advertising a higher concentration of vulgarity. American advertising has always been on the adolescent side, making its appeal to the lowest possible denominator of the reading public. Now, under the stress of a national crisis, patriotism is often used as a screen behind which to sell merchandise —a device which depends on emotional transference from a worthy to a more or less unworthy object, from desire for freedom to desire for candy or fur coats.

On the first day of the second war-bond drive, numerous clothing stores signed their names to ads in the *Times* calling for the purchase of bonds. To some people these ads seem offensive because of the obvious disparity between the necessities of total war and the luxuries the stores normally feature. They do not have the same objection when the ads are signed by companies engaged in war work. These people would rather see the government advertising war bonds than have such names as The Tailored Woman, Henri Bendel, Jane Engel, Peck and Peck, or Abercrombie and Fitch beneath the slogan "They *Give* Their Lives . . . You *Lend* Your Money"—particularly since advertisements aiding the war-bond drive are tax-exempt. A more dignified expression of patriotism perhaps would be for these stores to donate space to the government. As some measure of compensation they might then make semi-annual reports, through advertisements, of amounts so donated.

Examples of merchandise sold under cover of the flag are countless. "Keep in Trim . . . Sleep soundly in 'Fighting Trims,' " reads one; "For every fighting niece of Uncle Sam, Munsingwear has designed 'Fighting Trims.' " "Good news anywhere!" runs another; "It's a boy—and he's thriving on Carnation!" Beneath this breath-taking caption is a photograph of a soldier hold-

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ing a letter. "Many a nervous buck private flops down on his cot—trying to take in such heart-jerking news!" cries the copy writer. The reader flops down on his cot trying to take in such heart-jerking copy.

"Loose Talk Can Cost Lives!" says a Stetson ad, and under a photograph of a supposedly sinister man at a telephone are the vicious words: ". . . sails tonight, world's biggest, packed with troops . . . Berlin waiting." And then the punch line: "Keep It Under Your Stetson."

"Establish your home front at the Beverly"; "Hearts High! Until V-Day be beautiful *and* dutiful . . . with 'Bond Street' Beauty Preparations (for you, by Yardley!)"; "Introducing Volunteer . . . La Cross' new nail-polish shade for fingertips off and on duty . . . It's a deep red, stirring as the times, bright as courage"; "Doing Man's Work . . . Retaining Woman's Loveliness . . . a wartime secret shared by thousands." The secret? Wear Formfit. "Do Dermatologists Fight? Yes, indeed." And what is the choice of dermatologists? Mennen, obviously. Try "Courage—a fragrance attuned to the times . . . stirring as martial music . . . reflecting the gallant spirit of today."

And remember this: "Men who plan beyond tomorrow prefer the world's lightest highball!" Seagram's V. O. Canadian, in case you aren't a man who plans beyond tomorrow. "Imagine a Commando afraid of *me,*" says a puzzled little thing with body odor, the only cure for which is Cashmere Bouquet soap. "You know we're building the biggest army in our history. You know that candy is a fine food for soldiers"—especially Baby Ruth or Butter-finger. "Freedom Red Lipstick . . . fighting-mad red for gallant lips . . . Lucien Lelong's Freedom Red!"

The cigarette companies are among the most persistent users of the war theme, with Camels probably the most blatant and Chesterfields a close second. Camels have been featuring men and women in uniform, explaining that "In the navy they say 'belay' for stop, 'chop-chop' for hurry up, 'stew' for commissary officer, and 'Camel' for the navy man's favorite cigarette." "Co-ed leaves Campus to fill a *man's* job," says another Camel ad. "She's 'in the service'—even to her choice of cigarettes . . . Camels, of course!" Chesterfield is more liberal in its interpretation of what constitutes the war effort, but it exults in uniforms, guns, and flashing teeth. Typical was the ad featuring two Marine Raiders holding shiny sub-machine-guns at rakish angles and dangling Chesterfields from their lips.

Occasionally one runs into a refreshingly sensible ad. Germaine Monteil ran one in the *New Yorker* of February 27. "We wish it were otherwise," the ad read, "but, frankly, we don't think that Germaine Monteil's Face Powder and Beauty Balm will build morale or help preserve our way of life. *Their* job is to make you look prettier, which they perform brilliantly," etc. "A Civilian's Prayer" sponsored by the Northwestern National Life Insurance Company of Minneapolis ran: "Help me, Almighty God, to be the only hero I can ever be. Help me see how important it is that I go *gladly and energetically* about the humdrum business of saving my tires and fuel, of spending less and saving more, of eating less and working harder, of asking less and giving more. . . . Help me to realize that Americans are fighting today, not to create freedom and opportunity for the ruthless and greedy, but to make it possible for kind men, men of integrity, responsible men, to work in peace, and to work for the common good."

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

CONCESSIONS to Hitlerite Germany will fortify Hitler's position by enabling him to boast that he has obtained what was refused to Brüning, Stresemann, and German governments of the left. They will be a triumph and a justification of methods of violence, but they will fail in their object, for the more Hitler gets, the more he will want.—ROBERT DELL, *May 3, 1933.*

OVER THE COUNTRY resentment is rising like steam from thawing fields. . . . The National Farmers' Holiday Association . . ., representing farmers in sixteen states, demanded a national moratorium on foreclosures, federal operation of banks as public utilities, and a steeply graduated federal income, gift, and inheritance tax up to the point of confiscation.—*May 3, 1933.*

CUBA IS UNITED in saying that Machado must go. . . . I write no brief for terrorism. I only report what I have seen. I think of men and women, educated, sensitive, strong, who calmly admit that . . . they are now willing to kill, and if need be, to be killed, for the sake of the freedom of their country. I think of one girl, cultured, privileged, beautiful. "I would willingly carry the bomb myself which would put an end to Machado, and if need be, to me also." She is not exceptional.—HUBERT HERRING, *May 3, 1933.*

PERHAPS more heartening than any other development of the Roosevelt Administration is the rapidity with which it appears to be moving toward international cooperation.—*May 10, 1933.*

TRAVEL in Soviet Russia is not difficult. . . . It is invaluable . . . to know a little Russian. If you can say, "Tovarish, pozhalista" ("Comrade, please") and wave a piece of paper with an address on it under any good comrade's nose, he will put you on street cars, take you off, walk up to the door with you, ring the bell, wait until your friend appears, and very likely come in and eat with you.—AMY S. JENNINGS, *May 10, 1933.*

I DISCERN three major social-economic trends in the United States: (1) our working class is developing into a proletariat, that is, workingmen who are not at the same time capitalists; (2) our farmers are becoming peasants, that is, soil tillers who own little if any property; (3) our government is acquiring bigger and bigger stakes in private industry, that is, state capitalism.—LOUIS FISCHER, *May 31, 1933.*

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Bombing Won't Win

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

THE heavy and long-continued bombing raids on important objectives in Hitler's Europe are beginning to tell on the German war effort. Like a boxer who has absorbed too many body punches, Germany is slowing down to a point where a knockout blow may be possible. We are probably not yet ready to deliver it on land. It is very doubtful whether available troops and shipping will be sufficient to support a campaign capable of diverting as many as a third of the 218 German divisions which Churchill reports on the Russian front. Whether Germany can be defeated from the air will be put to the fullest test in the months just ahead.

Our position in the air today is far different from what it was four or two years or even one year ago. The overwhelming power of the Luftwaffe is now little more than a legend. The superiority in air-power reserves which the Germans enjoyed early in the war has been taken from them by heavy bombing of their industrial cities, mounting Allied production, and an unfavorable ratio of losses. Germany is credited today with an output not in excess of 2,000 to 2,400 planes a month. Japanese production, important for its diversionary effect on the United States, has been variously estimated at between 600 and 1,500 planes a month, and the output of the few and thoroughly bombed Italian factories—in any case unimportant—can hardly exceed 500. Our enemies, then, are not building more than 4,000 planes a month, and possibly are finishing far less.

In comparison, production in the United States makes an impressive showing. In April, the last month for which figures have been released, just under 7,000 planes were turned out, a large proportion of them heavy bombers. If the earlier rate of gain has been maintained since then, we are now building at least 8,000 a month. The President's recent statement that we were completing more planes than all the rest of the world confirms this.

No complete figures on British and Soviet plane production have been released recently. High military men in this country say that the British output is now greater than Germany's and that the Soviet Union is not far behind. An estimate of 4,000 planes a month for our principal allies is probably not excessive. Our own production figures, unfortunately, are for assembly-line rather than battlefield deliveries, and hence subtraction must be made for the shiploads of the products of Lockheed, Curtis, Vultee, and other firms which have gone to the bottom of the Atlantic. No one in authority has cared to reveal the actual number to be subtracted, but there can be no doubt that it is large. Even with such losses, however, we enjoy a huge advantage in plane output—certainly about three to one.

These figures do much to explain recent campaigns. Germany is not saving up air power for some unexpected blow in a new quarter. Its poor showing in the air over Western Europe, Russia, and North Africa has been due simply to lack of planes.

Quantity is, of course, only an approximate rule with which to measure air power. The quality of men and planes is far more important. And here we enjoy an even more striking advantage, for the early great numerical strength of the Luftwaffe was purchased at the cost of a sacrifice of quality. This slight inferiority in performance has been reflected in much longer casualty lists, and most of the German "first team" has disappeared at a time when the United States is able to throw into the fray a large number of picked men. The three-to-one ratio of losses during the last six months in Africa indicates clearly enough the deteriorating quality of German pilots and planes.

Winning the battle of the assembly lines, however, is not knocking out Germany. For well over a year we have been dealing constantly heavier blows in an effort to achieve as many as possible of the following objectives: (1) the softening up of Germany's defenses as a prelude to invasion, (2) the wrecking of its war industry, with a resultant lowered output, (3) the serious disruption of its system of communications, (4) a heavy reduction in the building and operation of U-boats, (5) injury to the physical and mental health of the German people, in short, destruction of morale. How far have these purposes been achieved? We have, of course, no sure way of knowing. Indirect evidence, German admissions, reports from neutral sources, and the testimony of our own aviators, when taken together, do afford some interesting information.

Perhaps the least success has been achieved in wrecking German morale. While Swiss sources and the observations of our own airmen indicate dismay, confusion, and little attempt at even self-defense on the part of the Italians, German prisoners and letters from home found on German dead report great physical destruction and terrible suffering but no loss of fighting spirit. To all appearances, the Germans, like the Spanish, Chinese, and British, can "take it."

Nor has heavy bombing been especially effective against U-boats, which, in their main bases, have for

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months been assembled and repaired in bomb-proof garages. Where they have not had such protection, as at Vegesack, a few U-boats have been destroyed outright, but these cases have been rare. The destruction accomplished at such ports as Brest and St. Nazaire should decrease workers' efficiency and hinder the submarine campaign, but unfortunately, the best possible evidence that these attacks have been inconclusive is being furnished in the Atlantic at the present time. A recent Admiralty report described a convoy battle in which a "wolf pack" of no fewer than twenty-five U-boats participated—a greater number in one spot than the Germans had in actual operation in the whole Atlantic during most of World War I.

It is in attacks upon transportation lines and arms industries that our bombing has been paying the greatest dividends. Hundreds of locomotives have been wrecked, river and coastal transport has been interrupted, and manufacturing plants have had to be diverted from providing munitions to the construction of rolling stock. In summarizing the February work of the R. A. F. Air Minister Sinclair mentioned more than a million persons rendered homeless, a cut in steel production of a million and a quarter tons, and more than 1,700 acres in seven cities totally devastated, in addition to damage in Berlin and Essen which had not been accurately determined. Three months later, after several raids which have broken all previous records, this damage has undoubtedly been multiplied.

Nevertheless, bombing will have to be extended over a much larger area if Germany is to be defeated from the air, for as much of its industry as possible has been moved eastward. As raids become longer, however, casualties mount, and the bomb load which can be carried goes down. Vienna, Prague, Pilsen, and Berlin, for example, are targets whose bombing lies on the marginal line between profit and loss. Other cities in eastern Germany, while well within theoretical bomber range and important industrially, have not been attacked at all. Similarly, transportation lines in northern France, the Low Countries, and northwestern Germany have been well peppered, but targets farther east have been largely left alone.

The evidence, then, does not suggest any likelihood of bringing about "unconditional surrender" from the air. Germany has been greatly hurt but is still immensely strong, especially on land. Between the 20 per cent reduction in industrial output which the most optimistic judges believe Anglo-American bombing has caused in Germany—others put it at 10 to 15 per cent—and the approach to absolute stoppage which might cause the Nazis to give up, there is a wide margin. In the months ahead we shall doubtless reduce this margin and bring closer the day of victory. But we should not count on air power alone to win.

In the Wind

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS is making short-wave broadcasts to American troops overseas to keep them posted on the things big business is doing to protect the American Way. . . . The Chesterfield cigarette people wanted to sponsor a series of commercial broadcasts of "This Is the Army," but were prevented by the American Federation of Radio Artists, an A. F. of L. union. The corporation set up by the army to handle the show's finances agreed with the Federation. . . . *Tide*, an advertising magazine, reports radio trade rumors that the War and Navy departments are beginning to frown on the whole idea of using the armed forces for advertising purposes.

THE LEGION OF DECENCY, official Catholic movie mentor, has found it advisable to explain its listing of "Mission to Moscow" as unobjectionable for adults. "It should be noted," says the Legion, "that the picture did not receive 'Unobjectionable for General Patronage' rating. . . . The film in its sympathetic portrayal of the governing regime in Russia makes no reference to the anti-religious philosophy and policy of said regime."

ELTON RAYMOND SHAW, former field secretary of the United States Chamber of Commerce, offers some inside information on world affairs in his book "Green Light to Dictatorship": "Years ago Mr. Churchill secretly cabled to President Roosevelt: 'I am half-American and the natural person to work with you. It is evident we can see eye to eye. Were I to become Prime Minister of Britain, we could control the world.' "

A "DYNAMIC BULLETIN" issued by the National Council for Civil Liberties, an organization devoted to the defense of the thirty-three men and women under indictment in Washington for conspiring to undermine the morale of the armed forces, opposes the "Jew Deal" and "rotten and putrid Anglo-Saxon capitalism." "Today," it advises, "you have but a handful in Congress guarding the liberties. To name but a few, men and patriots like Hamilton Fish, Clare Hoffman, Lambertson, Shafer, Cox, and Smith of Virginia. In the Senate you have militant patriots like Nye, Clark, Wheeler, Vandenberg, and several others."

FESTUNG EUROPA: German officers in Belgium are reported to be buying cloth on the black market for civilian clothes. . . . A Nazi newspaper in Bratislava complains, "One of the reasons for expelling the Jews was the fact that Jewish innkeepers ruined rural municipalities through alcohol. Now the Jewish innkeepers have disappeared, but the people drink more alcohol than before."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Inspiration Wanted

BY LOUIS FISCHER

NO OTHER war was like this one: no war ever aroused so much discussion of the peace. The desire to see the contours of the future is not idle curiosity or cheap crystal gazing. The shape of the peace to come interests many millions of Americans deeply and passionately. I think the reason is that the usual motives for fighting a war are absent.

As a nation we are not imperialistic; we do not want more territory. We do not hate our enemies very violently, nor do we love our allies sufficiently to endure the sacrifices that this conflict entails. Because these ordinary war-time stimuli are not present to sustain morale, the country, with healthy instinct, is searching for an extraordinary inspiration to fight. Such inspiration could be found in a conviction that victory will make life better and the world safer.

The average American's approach to the problems of the future peace is simple and personal. He says: "Two major wars in twenty-four years. That's bad. Something's wrong. I hope little Johnny, now five years old, won't have to fight in the third world war."

During five recent months of travel from Maine to Alabama to California I found widespread concern lest deeply rooted circumstances and the pettiness of politicians here and abroad ruin the peace settlement. The old isolationist chestnut that "wars never change anything" is far from dead. People are worried and confused. They are critical of everybody in government office. Some remain silent out of loyalty to country.

Youth especially is cynical about politicians and about the possibility of effective public pressure on politicians. Cynicism and doubts do not help men and women to face arduous tasks and bear the loss of life, eyes, limbs, and wealth in war. I lectured in a score of universities and schools. Optimism about the post-war era is suspect, and a speaker is closely examined for rose-colored glasses. I was frequently asked whether Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin favored the new internationalism that is the only safeguard against another war. I was asked why Roosevelt didn't make speeches like Wallace's. Justly or unjustly, the State Department is regarded more critically than any other branch of the federal government. This tends to undermine confidence in our ability to forge a solid peace.

It is not that Americans wish to abstain from the peace. The contrary is true. I lectured in churches, colleges, executives' clubs, women's clubs, and in community forums where the garb of the audience ran the gamut from mink coat to overalls. I listened in trains and buses. I was interviewed by journalists and editors and then interviewed them. I rediscovered old friends and acquaintances. I read newspapers in large towns and small. I am completely convinced that the country is ready to participate in the coming peace arrangement. No one disputes the proposition that if America remains aloof from the peace there will be no peace; that there will be, instead, another war, and we shall be in it. That is one thing America seems to have learned. But skepticism on the possibility of making a good peace may ultimately kill the wish to participate in the peace.

America is engaged in a quest for faith. At present America's will to wage war stems from one source—patriotic duty. The United States is at war; every citizen has a duty, some in the front line, some behind the lines. Not a few Americans still think that we should not have become involved in this war. But whatever they thought before Pearl Harbor—and many hate to be reminded of it—Americans are unanimously loyal, and they answer "Here" when Uncle Sam calls. There is a job to be done, a big job.

This unquestioning devotion is the pillar of our national morale, the only real pillar. All the talk about the shape of the peace to come is a search for a twin pillar. Americans want to get excited about the war. They want it to be more than a job. They are groping for a vision of a brighter future which will enable them to believe in a better world born of this bloody war.

Even the hard-boiled American is part idealist. Today the ubiquitous memory of the First World War, which was won, and then lost in an inadequate peace, dampens the ardor of a country that functions best when it thrills to a higher cause. America wants to believe. But it is afraid to pin its hopes to a star. It dissects every slogan and shibboleth. It is not atrocity-conscious. Its emotions are under rigid control. It is extremely wary of anything that suggests propaganda. It demands concreteness. Promises of a better world will not do. Promises are quoted far below par. Promises must be accompanied by the beginning of fulfilment.

The interest in world affairs has risen perceptibly. I talked with the managers of at least fifty bookstores in various cities. Every one of them said that they were selling more political books than ever before. More newspapers are being read.

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In April I addressed the Fort Worth Lecture Foundation. When the meeting opened, the chairman asked for an expression of views to guide the program committee in arranging next season's programs. "How many want the emphasis placed on entertainment?" Three or four hands went up. "How many are especially interested in literature and the arts?" About ten hands were raised. "How many would like to have more lectures on the war and the peace?" Some three hundred hands were raised. This is typical. But with the mounting interest and understanding goes a realization of the difficulties that will beset the peacemakers.

The public is looking for expert leadership. It is grateful for enlightenment. Enough appears to be wrong in the administration of American affairs to make the people receptive to criticism provided it is constructive and not carping. Standpattism and excuses for blunders and mistakes are rarely welcomed. The Administration would be more popular if it frankly admitted its errors.

Wendell Willkie, I think, is talking to the heart of the country more than any other man because he is critical, yet pro-war. His "One World" is the best picture of a planet at war available to the general reading public. He has not convinced everybody that he is sincere, and some wonder why he has not spoken out as frankly on domestic issues as on imperialism and the peace. On the other hand, I was asked many times whether Willkie might not have the makings of a leader of American liberals.

In numerous places I came across groups of liberals who worry themselves sleepless over the Darlan-Peyrouton affair, the neglect of China, the mishandling of India, the survival of isolationism, and the triumph here and there of reactionaries in this country. These liberals would be glad to work for political change; they lack organization and leadership—and a program. So they feel helpless. This helplessness makes them more pessimistic than do the situations they would like to correct.

The amount of anti-union sentiment is frightening to one who knows from European experience that anti-labor agitation is the beginning of fascism. I have no idea what the trade unions are doing about it; their public-relations departments seem to be off fishing. The labor movement of America is heading for disaster, and may bring us all to disaster unless it unites on a strategy of war-time action, adheres to that strategy, and then explains it intelligibly to its own members and to the larger public. The general citizenry is anti-labor, and so are many working men and women.

The reactionaries are extremely busy fighting their war for the preservation of the past. The enemies of reaction are split and have no sense of direction. Their task, of course, is harder. It is easier to move backward to what was; you know how it looks. It is not so easy to move forward to a place you have never seen and cannot describe in definite terms. But we do know that the past includes two wars in one generation and much trouble in between. Certainly Europe and Asia know that their past has been ugly and bloody, and if we, advancing in this war, threaten to bring them a future which is like their past, they will not applaud.

In a practical sense, therefore, the battle for political supremacy in the United States will shape the peace, for if the past-lovers win the battle here they will fight for the past in the peace. The ideal peace, in their eyes, will be a return to the past. That past, however, was the mother of this war and the mother of the First World War, and it can still bear children.

The peace will be no better than the men who make it. And the men who make it will be those who rise to power and office during this war. The peace, in other words, is already being made. It is being made in the struggle that is now going on behind all the home fronts, particularly behind the front in America. There is no certainty that the reactionaries, status-quoers, and backward-lookers of all countries will not win this struggle. They will win it unless they meet stronger opposition. If they win it, the war may be lost in the peace.

This country has never doubted victory on the battlefield. But many Americans doubt whether we can win the peace against the powerful world forces already arrayed to block a settlement that departs from narrow nationalism, power politics, political and economic imperialism, and assumptions of white supremacy.

Joy over the victories of our young fighting men in battle is mingled with fear of old men in office.

Italian Rumoresque

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THERE must be a great many desertions from Fascism in Italy today. Mussolini and those among his henchmen who cannot turn their coats—and who are therefore in danger of losing their skins—doubtless feel that the very foundations of the Fascist dictatorship are disintegrating. This explains the recent shake-up in the Fascist Party. Mussolini has had to "mobilize" the most criminal elements among his followers. The new national secretary of the party, Scorza, is a typical representative of that criminal fringe. In 1925 he led the treacherous attack upon Amendola* which resulted in Amendola's death some months later. In 1928 he published an article in which he likened the Fascist Party to the Catholic church, explaining that he did not mean the Catholic church of weaklings like St. Francis of Assisi but the Catholic church of heroic popes, like Alexander Borgia,

* Amendola was a noted liberal and leader of the opposition in the Italian Parliament after the March on Rome.

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who were prepared even to poison their foes. Signor Scorza has done what all his kind have done—utilized political power for personal gain. He and Mussolini will stick together until every spark of hope vanishes, and then, if they are not killed, they will try to escape to Spain.

That much one can say without possessing any inside information. But our newspapermen and radio commentators seem to know much more. When Grandi left the Ministry of Justice on February 5, some of our most solemn papers gave out the good tidings that he had been dismissed from his post because he had become disloyal to Mussolini and had tried to set up an anti-Fascist nucleus within the Italian police. The story was probably concocted in Washington by someone who thought that in Italy, as in the United States, the federal police is responsible to the Department of Justice. Had he been better informed about Italian institutions he would have known that in Italy the police is under the Department of the Interior, which has always been run by Mussolini. A Minister of Justice in Italy could not hatch any conspiracy within the Italian police system. Grandi, despite his alleged attempts at treachery, remained chairman of the Fascist Lower House. In addition, a few days after the rumors were published, Grandi received the Knighthood of the Annunziata, the highest decoration in Italy. The King could not have bestowed that honor upon him without Mussolini's consent.

Another "good story" released some time ago by a radio commentator was to the effect that Mussolini is no longer on speaking terms with his son-in-law, Count Ciano, ambassador to the Vatican. What television apparatus permitted this commentator to reveal that when Mussolini and his son-in-law meet, one gazes at the ceiling while the other blows his nose and looks at the floor? The fact is that Ciano left the Foreign Office last February to become ambassador to the Holy See just on the eve of Archbishop Spellman's mission to Rome. At that time Mussolini needed a man at the Vatican who, no less than himself, was interested in saving his own skin, and who would never betray him, as might a professional diplomat, when the breakdown of the Fascist regime occurred. Ciano was the man. Ciano is there to look out as best he can for the interests of the Mussolini-Ciano combine in negotiating a way out of the present impasse.

However, the stories which are being circulated should not be ignored. If they do not tell us what is really happening in Italy, they tell us what those who concoct them in America and who circulate them through newspapermen and radio commentators want us to believe.

The British Foreign Office and the American State Department expect Grandi to leave the sinking Fascist ship together with other rats. By betraying Mussolini he would only enhance his prestige among our would-be Machiavellis. This is the reason that Grandi is being

Courtesy of *Time and Tide* (London)

Alone at Last

told day in and day out, in our press and on our radio, that he would be quite an acceptable "leader" of tomorrow's Italy. As for Ciano, he is the only man through whom Mussolini could be approached personally in negotiations of a secret and delicate kind. The results of such negotiations would be more readily swallowed in this country if Ciano were described in advance as a traitor to his father-in-law. A widespread story that Ciano is even now visiting the United States shows how far the hopes and suspicions have gone.

Among all these rumors the most insistent is the report that the King of Italy will soon abdicate. For the last twenty years the coming abdication of the King of Italy has been announced at least twice a year. To be sure, he may abdicate one fine day and run away to Spain, with or without Mussolini. If that should happen, those who have predicted his abdication for the last twenty years will undoubtedly consider themselves infallible prophets. But that, I am afraid, is questionable logic. At any rate Victor Emanuel is still King of Italy.

Yet the story of his abdication does not deserve to be dismissed altogether. The French journalist Pertinax, a man of uncommon intelligence and as a rule well informed, has given support to the rumor in the New York *Times* of May 12, though he was judicious enough to add that "the hour at which the King's decision will mature remains uncertain." Since May 12 the story has been repeated again and again by many papers, as though it came from Switzerland, England, Morocco, Dakar, and where not. As a matter of fact, the source of the news is Archbishop Spellman. Pertinax wrote: "The diplomatic reports to which I refer originated in the recent visit of Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York to London and in what he said there about the conversations he had had in Rome some weeks before. He was received no less than four times by Pope Pius XII and by the Papal

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Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione. He is believed to have met Count Ciano, Count Grandi, and others. Thus his words carry great weight."

We see that again Grandi and Ciano are brought to the fore. In addition, we are told by Pertinax that "the Vatican is deeply concerned with the social upheavals that are likely to be the outcome of military defeat" and thinks a new government "closely linked with the conservative classes" is needed in Italy "to maintain public order." This government, according to "the view generally expressed at the Vatican," should consist of "a young monarch not too directly involved in the tragic errors of Fascist policy." In other words, according to Pertinax, the King of Italy has been informed that he is expected to get out and to leave Crown Prince Humbert in his place if he wants to enjoy the protection of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, and Pius XII.

Perhaps the Vatican, the British Foreign Office, and our own State Department do not understand that if Britain and America win the war, the royal family and the "conservative classes" in Italy are doomed. Neither the present King nor his brainless son, neither Grandi nor Ciano, neither Badoglio nor any other Fascist general, will serve to stem the tide of revolt in Italy. The dream of a "conservative" succession to Mussolini can only be brought to realization if the victorious armies of the Allied powers are assigned the degrading task of establishing in power the renegades of Fascism.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

TWO weeks ago this column pointed out that German publicity about Tunisia had not repeated the mistakes of Stalingrad. For months the people had been prepared for the eventuality that the Tunisian front might have to be given up. Therefore it was only necessary at the end to conceal the fact that defeat took the form, not of an orderly evacuation, but of a complete collapse. This was attempted, successfully or not, by uttering dithyrambs on the glorious heroism of the African troops. Except on that one point the commentators did not need to exert themselves. They had long been representing the Tunisian undertaking as in essence a "delaying" action designed to hold the Anglo-American armies until an Atlantic Wall and a Mediterranean Wall could be built to defend the European fortress. Now it was only necessary to show that this purpose had been accomplished, and the six months' time gained appeared as a victory. The loss of a few divisions was not too high a price to pay.

Of course it will be impracticable to use the same foresight about the next event on the order of the day—the invasion of Europe. Not the most imaginative presentation could make a successful invasion look like a defeat for the Allies. Nevertheless, one section of German propaganda is showing remarkable caution. The military do not speak the same language as Goebbels. Everything that comes out of Goebbels's Ministry is 100 per cent in one vein. Day after day, with a thousand tongues, his people guarantee the complete and unconditional impossibility of any breach being made in the European fortress. A very different tone, however, is used by the man who can be called the army's chief propagandist, the well-known General Kurt Dittmar.

On the eve of the finale in Tunis the General spoke over the radio. Soon now, he said, the invasion attempt must be expected. And his single comment was the restrained, almost neutral remark: "Let us wait and see whether the Allies are strong enough to crack the hard shell which now protects the south of Europe." No "impossible" from him. Three weeks earlier General Dittmar had spoken on the same subject at greater length, but then too very moderately. He said, "Landings, military history teaches us, are among the most difficult of operations." But he did not fail to add that "military history, nevertheless, does not lack examples of successful landings." He described the new fortified zone along the European coast as "strong in the manner of the West Wall." But he also said that so far in this war "no fortified zone" has withstood a determined attack. He praised the quality of German soldiers, which would give the fortifications a special strength. But even of the best-defended fortress he said only that it "could be" impregnable, not that it was certainly so.

One cannot assert of course that there was any trace of defeatism in the General's remarks. But it is clear that the military gentlemen are beginning to think about their professional reputation. If the invasion should succeed—and they do not exclude the possibility—they do not want to be counted among those who were either absolutely blind or arrant deceivers.

Though Japan may have made capital out of the coal strike and the continued recalcitrance of the United Mine Workers, in Germany the matter has not been pointed up to seem of major importance. The authorities do not like to have strikes discussed, even strikes in enemy countries. However, there is of course a German line on the subject. The light in which the people were expected to view it was indicated by Hans Fritzsche, director of the Radio Ministry, on May 4.

In this version the cause of the conflict was "the eagerness of the Jews and plutocrats to rake in their profits from the war they had instigated." The plutocrats have known how to avoid paying higher war taxes. "War taxes are paid only by the masses. In fact, the United States is the country in which one of the richest men in the world, the lately deceased Morgan, for years paid no

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taxes at all." This spirit has now seeped down into the lower ranks. "A country in which the war is carried on so openly as a business must reckon with the fact that the desire for profits is not confined to the handful of plutocrats but spreads like a contagion through many groups. In recent months the mine workers among others have been pressing their demands."

Thereupon Roosevelt used the whole power of the state against the workers. And now occurred the most significant event. "Moscow ranged itself against the American miners, who, following the example of the Wall Street Jews and the trust plutocrats, had dared to demand at least a small share in the deceptive prosperity of the war. The representative of Moscow in the United States, the Bolshevik leader Poznoff [*sic*], turned against Lewis." Thus "Roosevelt's coercive measures were adopted on Moscow's initiative." And suddenly, as if by a dazzling flash of lightning, "the whole front against which National Socialist Germany is fighting became clear. It is the front of the Jewish slaveholders in Moscow and the slaveholders of the so-called Western democracies, which behind an idealistic mask preach dollar imperialism."

How much of this the German listener swallowed—if he was at all interested—is another question.

The Great Hour

Moscow's decision to dissolve the Third International presents labor with a unique opportunity to strengthen its ranks, to unite and prepare itself for leadership in the world of tomorrow. Since the inauguration of expediency in North Africa, we know what kind of democratic order is to be expected from the diplomacy of the United Nations if it is left to its own devices. Only a mobilization of the popular forces—for the support of the war, yes, but also for the establishment of a people's peace—can save mankind from the certainty of World War III. Liberals cannot do it. Isolated statesmen like Benes cannot do it. Labor alone can take the matter into its own hands, become the rallying point for all progressive forces, and smash the conspiracy of big business, Munich diplomacy, and Vatican intrigue which aims to sell out the people and to establish reaction everywhere. It can be done. But only under one condition—that in this decisive hour Labor and Socialist leaders—American, British, European—show themselves capable of rising to the heights of a Debs, a Keir Hardie, a Jaurès; that they show themselves generous and farsighted; that they do not permit their personal resentments, their lack of imagination, their almost pathological fear of action to ruin the immense opportunity now open to them.

File and Remember

The Nazi Student Trial

SOMETHING new has happened in Hitler's Germany. The German wireless has announced that all German university students will have to undergo a new test for their political reliability. Only those found worthy will be allowed to continue their studies. All others will be sent to the front.

On February 22 Hans Scholl, Maria Scholl, and Adrian Probst, students at the University of Munich, were sentenced to death for high treason by a Nazi People's Court. Commenting on their execution a few days later, the *Völkischer Beobachter* called them *typische Zinzelgänger*—typical individual cranks. However, on April 21, exactly a week before the general purge of the universities was announced, the same paper reported another treason trial—this time of thirteen persons. Under the headline, "Just Punishment for Traitors of a Fighting Nation," it said that three other Munich students had been sentenced to death because, "together with the Scholls, they encouraged sabotage in armament factories by means of leaflets during our nation's hard struggle in 1942-43, and also spread defeatist ideas." Two students from Ulm who "assisted in the distribution of these highly treasonable leaflets" were sentenced to "only five years' imprisonment in view of their youth"; four other young persons, one boy and three girls, were sentenced to from twelve to eighteen months' imprisonment for failing to report these activities to the police, and one girl for distributing the leaflets in ignorance of their contents.

The trial was not, however, confined to students. Two men from Freiburg "who did not report these plans" received seven years' penal servitude each, and one from Stuttgart "who provided money but did not know all the particulars," ten years.

In the *Beobachter's* report two facts at once strike the eye. First, the pretense of dealing with "individual cranks" has been dropped; the work of an anti-Nazi underground organization is clearly revealed. Second, the active core of this organization was formed by students in their early twenties—boys and girls who had been children when Hitler came to power. What can have happened to turn them into "traitors" and "defeatists"? What caused such a great response to their activities that a general purge of the universities became necessary?

Some light is shed on the mystery by an unsigned report in the Swedish *Vecko-Journalen* which says that the trouble started when students at the University of Munich demonstrated against a speech made by *Gauleiter* Giessler. The next day leaflets taking the incident as a starting-point for a general attack on the Nazi regime were circulated by the students. The first three victims were arrested for distributing these leaflets. Further investigation revealed a ramifying organization, and more arrests followed.

There is not a word in this report about sabotage in armament factories; and if we remember that the Nazi regime always attempts to make opposition to itself appear as treachery to the nation and a direct threat to the war effort, we can easily believe that the Swedish paper published a true account.

—Condensed from an article by Paul Sering in the *Tribune* (London) for May 7, 1943.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Baudelaire, Plain and Mirrored

BAUDELAIRE THE CRITIC. By Margaret Gilman. Columbia University Press. $3.

THE MIRROR OF BAUDELAIRE. Edited by Charles Henri Ford. With a Preface by Paul Eluard and a Drawing by Henri Matisse. New Directions. Boards, $1. Paper, 50 cents.

BAUDELAIRE'S ascent "au comble de la gloire" has entailed its inevitable perils. Like other poets rescued from the hostility of their contemporaries or the notoriety of their reputations—like Poe, Hölderlin, Leopardi, Rimbaud, and presently, it appears, like Mallarmé, Rilke, and George—he has become the multiplied and divided god of his devotees, a mask to fit every possible convenience or occasion. "Cette grande faveur posthume, cette fécondité spirituelle, cette gloire" have, as Valéry remarked in 1926, enriched both the poet and his heirs, but they have invited a dangerous amount of reckless redaction and distortion of what Baudelaire wrote and thought. Such license has been especially encouraged in England and America, where editions and discussion of his poetry still remain fragmentary and of his prose almost non-existent. Eliot emphasized the situation sixteen years ago when he said that "Baudelaire is one of the few poets who wrote nothing, either prose or verse, that is negligible. To understand Baudelaire you must read the whole of Baudelaire. And nothing that he wrote is without importance. He was a great poet; he was a great critic. And he was also a man with a profound attitude toward life, for the study of which we need every scrap of his writing."

Miss Gilman's book arrives late in the day but no less opportunely. She has written a careful, intelligent, thoroughly documented account of Baudelaire's criticism, by far the best yet attempted in English. It should restore him to general recognition not only as one of the greatest critical intelligences of the past century but as a figure to rank with Coleridge, Schiller, Keats, Delacroix, Hopkins, and Yeats in the evolution of modern romantic aesthetics—a critic and exonerator, possibly superior to any of these, of the romantic principle in the years of crisis and enforced maturity at which it arrived in his lifetime.

Miss Gilman's book is not a substitute for the good translation of Baudelaire's prose which should be made for English readers (her quotations are all in French), but it is the first to make available the encyclopedic scholarship of André Ferran's "Esthétique de Baudelaire," Giovanni Macchia's "Baudelaire Critico," and several lesser European investigators, the first on this side of the Atlantic to canvass the full range of speculation in "L'Art romantique," "Curiosités esthétiques," the "Journaux intimes," the various "Oeuvres posthumes," and the letters and to show what is of paramount importance—the authentic inclusiveness of Baudelaire's aesthetic intelligence. It was an intelligence that had its center in poetry but it ranged widely: to painting and music, to manners and public prejudices, to both aesthetic problems and psychological, and continuously to social and moral traditions: "dandyisme" ("l'idée du beau transportée dans la vie matérielle, celui qui dicte la forme et règle les manières") was for him as serious an instrument for discriminating the artist's function as the political attitudes that carried him from the bourgeois revolutionary ardor of 1848 to the social misanthropy that claimed him later. The influences that went into the making of Baudelaire's ideas were never narrowly sectarian: De Maistre balanced Poe; Guys, Rops, Daumier, and the satirists balanced Delacroix, Gautier, Manet, and the aesthetes; Diderot, Stendhal, and Ingres balanced Hugo and Wagner. The "universality" he praised in Delacroix was his continuous ideal. In opposition to technical or dogmatic specialization he set one of his most refreshing principles: "Je crois sincèrement que la meilleure critique est celle qui est amusante et poétique."

Miss Gilman rightly emphasizes the fact that in Baudelaire, as in other major critics, it was the poet working through the critic that made his work luminous. She is at no pains to spare him from the biases and occasional miscalculations which his own intense participation in the creative conflicts of his time entailed, but she is able, by elaborate summary, to vindicate his own claim of having transformed his "volupté en connaissance," of having arrived by a scrupulous empirical sincerity at what he could finally claim as "une pensée unique et systématique," and of having achieved the stature of a master in "the most difficult of all criticism, that of one's contemporaries." One has only to compare him in this respect with his only possible peers in the aesthetic or impressionist line in America and England—with Poe, so erratic on living poets, so special a pleader for writers of the kind he desiderated, and with Pater, whose compromise of taste with decorum led to his incredibly imperceptive, not to say callow, reviews of "Robert Elsmere," "Dorian Gray," and Edmund Gosse's verse—to realize what Baudelaire achieved in his estimates of Flaubert, Daumier, Hugo, and Delacroix. If our latter-day distrust of his judgment is based on a reaction against Poe as strong as Baudelaire's pioneer enthusiasm, it should be corrected by the integrity by which Baudelaire lifted himself above friendship, literary politics, distorting fashions, and the erratic taste of his day in order to arrive at judgments on his contemporaries that show—beyond Sainte-Beuve's pontifical tactics and shifts of policy—a classic security.

Miss Gilman's book is weakest in her meager integration of Baudelaire's prose with his poetry. Her methodical annotation also prevents her from opening the full perspectives of her subject by showing the larger ancestry of Baudelaire's ideas, their connection with social and moral influences, and their bearing on modern developments in criticism. Baudelaire stands too much alone in her book, insufficiently connected with the currents and activities he focuses so signally. But her book is urgently to be recommended to all bandiers of his name and greatness, and to those addicts of translation who might profitably turn their energies from his poems to

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his prose. I would mention a final virtue of her study: she follows a chronological order in her survey, avoiding not only stilted classifications "into artistic, literary, and musical," but also "too sharply defined periods" of personal development. This is the only way to emphasize the continuity and essential unity of Baudelaire's thought and character—the indivisibility of his art and nature that is the first fact of his genius.

In "The Mirror of Baudelaire" the poet becomes a Poet of the Month, and receives one of the handsomest formats in that estimable series. A menstrual emphasis perhaps calls for timeliness: Baudelaire here turns up in one of his most fashionable incarnations, as an ancestor of the surrealists. Paul Eluard leads off with a prose hymn on the poet's image, occasioned by Matisse's line portrait; Mr. Ford, "editor" of the booklet, follows with a "Ballad for Baudelaire" that offers no very impressive testimony on the master's influence in matters of taste, style, or intensity; and William Candlewood (who is mentioned on the jacket but nowhere in the volume itself) supplies translations of "Le Voyage," "Le Cygne," and "Un Voyage à Cythère." A first reading recommends these as a corrective to the mawkish and broken-backed sentimentalizations that extend from Symons to Millay. Closer examination raises doubts, for there is soon apparent a sly stuffing of superfluous epithet, exaggerated adjectives, unwarranted metaphorical extensions, and colloquial equivalents that throw the original phrases off key. "L'horreur de leurs berceaux" becomes "the horror of their hearts"; "La Circé tyrannique aux dangereux parfums" becomes "Oh, the perfumes of Circe, the power and the pig!"; "De leur fatalité jamais ils ne s'écartent" becomes "They never diverge from luck's black sun"; "avec nos voiles blanches" becomes "with the glare of our sails"; "la mer des Ténèbres" becomes "the sea of deepening shadows"; and when "Un Voyage à Cythère" becomes "A Voyage to Cytherea" and remains "Cytherea" throughout the poem we are reminded of how Eliot, on once making an effort to grapple with the hash Symons had made of this masterpiece, was led to "wonder even whether Mr. Symons has not confused Cythera with Cytherea." These steppings-up of Baudelaire's tone and suggestion, these liberties of connotation and touches of Rimbaudian exorbitance, while not excessive in the fashion of many recent versions, tend seriously to break down the balance between personal epithet and classical diction, between originality and tradition, that is essential to any real sense of what both Valéry and Eliot have emphasized as the Racinian element in Baudelaire's art. Since Mr. Candlewood was following neither the rhythms nor the rhymes of the originals, one wonders why he didn't aim at the closest possible exactness and fidelity in his renderings and trust that any interested reader's access to Baudelaire's verbally and syntactically unbaffling French would supply the poetry from the one place where it indisputably exists.

Roger Fry's English gloss on Mallarmé remains a useful model for the many poets of our day who, without five minutes' command of common colloquial French or German, are possessed of an itch to "translate" Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Rilke, Eluard, Hölderlin, and other masters of the utmost nuances and subtleties of those tongues. "In the unsilvered glass of Time, we shall always recognize Baudelaire, physically and morally, without ever having seen him," says Mr. Eluard, but it doesn't necessarily follow that we are bound to recognize Baudelaire without having read him.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Fighters Round the World

JOURNEY AMONG WARRIORS. By Eve Curie. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

EVE CURIE'S 40,000-mile trip to war fronts strewn across the globe was more than a reporting journey; it was a personal pilgrimage. The crumbling of her country in the face of the Nazi onslaught had been a humiliation to her; she needed to renew her faith in the courage of men. She wanted the reassurance of seeing how the fight against fascism was being carried on by other peoples.

As a reporter Miss Curie carried good newspaper credentials from England and America. She carried even more potent credentials by reason of being the daughter and biographer of Marie Curie. When Burma was in flames she telephoned a local governor to ask him where she might find lodging for the night; he had read her book about her mother and asked her to be his guest. In Russia Eve Curie got to the front while other reporters still were marooned far back at Kuibyshev. Randolph Churchill, the Prime Minister's son, took her almost too near Nazi tanks in Libya. In China the Chiang Kai-sheks invited her to their home. In India she was the guest of General Wavell.

Few reporters have such opportunities; few, if any, could have made so much of the opportunities as did Eve Curie. Her 500-page book is a grand panorama of the war seen through discerning eyes and described by an honest mind.

For one thing she worked hard and covered things no other reporter has touched. In Russia she not only talked to soldiers and partisans and German prisoners, but also she went to see Dr. Smirnov, son of a glass worker, who had learned to read and write in 1925 and now was chief of the Red Army Medical Service administration. For three hours he told her how Soviet scientists were working to stanch the terrifying flow of Russian blood. She talked to geologists who were seeking new sources of bauxite and experimenting with the best white paints for winter tank camouflage. She talked to scholars who were building alphabets for those of Russia's racial groups which had none.

Never was Miss Curie dizzied by her association with the famous or hobbled by officialdom. Her energy and curiosity were too great. She made it her business to talk to plain people and to those in opposition. In Chungking she saw not only government leaders but also Madame Sun Yat-sen, the Generalissimo's sister-in-law, who, although bitterly sad about some aspects of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, assured her that liberal ideas would not die in China whatever the course of the Kuomintang. Miss Curie managed to get herself furtively spirited to the Chungking home of Chou En-lai, representative of the Chinese Communists, who said the Red troops found Chiang Kai-shek very reluctant to supply them with weapons although they were bearing the brunt of one-third of the Japanese forces on Chinese soil. Still thirsting for knowledge after seeing nearly everyone in the capital,

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this indefatigable reporter took a difficult trip 180 miles into the northwest to visit Chengtu, capital of Szechwan Province.

In India Miss Curie's interests were equally catholic. She found that except for the Viceroy and Sir Stafford Cripps, none of the English had ever met Gandhi or Nehru, nor did the Congress Party leaders meet the officers of the Moslem League. It simply wasn't done. Miss Curie met them all. When she told General Wavell that she was to walk with Gandhi next morning, he muttered only half-jokingly that he wished he could.

Wherever she went Miss Curie was digging into the meaning of things, seeking answers to questions, not trying to prove any preconceived point. She set down what she saw candidly and objectively. "The fact that I had an incurable worship for personal freedom which the Soviet regime had been offending several times a day while I was in Russia could not hide from me an obvious truth: the German attack, which had made my country, France, fall to pieces within a few weeks—army, regime, and all—had not even shaken the formidable structure of the U. S. S. R." She found not only the soldiers but the whole people making incredible sacrifices gladly. "It was a case of national unity and of powerful leadership," she thought.

The authoritarian aspects of Chiang Kai-shek's regime did not escape Miss Curie. But in China she was able to discuss the government freely with conservatives, Communists, and liberals, whereas in Russia she had not found a single citizen "willing or daring to have a controversial talk about the Russian regime with a foreigner."

She wandered through the slums of Calcutta and was appalled by the degrading poverty which is so widespread under Britain's rule. She found that Gandhi "had more charm than almost anybody I had ever met," but she was appalled by him, too. She admired him, fell under his spell, but came to the conclusion that he "must have no part in the government of India during the war." Eve Curie whole-heartedly sympathized with India's yearning to be independent. But when Indian leaders took the attitude that one foreign master was as bad as another—so why worry about a Japanese conquest?—she thought they were pitifully underestimating fascist brutality. The apathy and factional disputes reminded her all too vividly of pre-war France. Non-violence would never beat Hitler.

By and large Miss Curie's visits to the battle fronts of the anti-Nazi coalition cheered her. In the Russian town of Tula, which had not surrendered to the besieging troops of Napoleon, nor of Denekin, nor of Hitler, she asked the commissar how they managed to hold out. "One saves a besieged city," he replied, "by swearing that the enemy will not get into it." Men with this spirit were likely to win. So were the soldiers of Chou En-lai in China who sang:

> All you who don't want to be slaves,
> Arise!
> Let's take our flesh and blood
> And build a great new world.

Eve Curie's spirit was lifted by the faith of the fighting men she met and by their determination that the association of many varied peoples in the war against Nazism must not be allowed to collapse in the peace to come. But she still put quotation marks around half of the phrase "United" Nations. She was anxious about the people behind the fronts. Were they consolidating the coalition, "materially so strong, politically so fragile," while there was still time to do so? Were they "building a coherent, workable plan for a new world, that would even partly satisfy the hunger of 1,500 million men for liberty, for security—and for bread?"

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Cities for Use

NEW YORK PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. By Cleveland Rodgers. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THIS book will tell you how New York City got the way it is. The story of the use and misuse of land, with all the effects of expansion, overcrowding, speculation, official and unofficial chicanery upon ways of living and working is told in full. It began earlier than we think. Peter Stuyvesant passed a law to force owners to build on vacant lots—almost the same law radical New Zealand is so proud of today. It didn't work. The first premature subdivision was made in 1789, 'way out where Thirty-fourth and Forty-second streets are now. As the city grew, expenses grew even faster, and the city sold off its land and gave up its leasehold rights. The endeavor to finance capital costs by selling capital assets proved a failure because operating costs mounted still faster and taxes could not keep pace. So ever new land was opened up, and new "taxable values" were created, and here we are with a stabilizing population and one-third of our land vacant, one-third of the developed land in streets, and with great areas of blight and decay handicapping the rest. We are talking about municipal ownership, leaseholds, government aid, and we listen carefully to Minister Nash of New Zealand.

The story is not unique. Most of our large cities have gone through the same process. The impact of the involved forces of economics, politics, and social climates on the plan of the city has not been elsewhere so well described. Homer Hoyt's "100 Years of Land Values in Chicago" is too technical, and the usual histories do not show the relation of these forces to the physical city of today. Cleveland Rodgers shows how all these events and their physical residue affect the ordinary city dweller, the man who travels two hours daily by subway, the woman who has no safe place for her child to play in, the child whose life is spent on asphalt streets and asphalt playgrounds. It is such simple human things that are the real basis of the disintegration of the city, these and the impossibility of carrying on the business life of today in an obsolete plant. It is these things that must be remedied; everything else is secondary because if the city is not made over for the living and working of its inhabitants, no municipal economies, no "tax reforms," no "urban rehabilitation" (for the upper middle class) will have any effect.

What emerges is the need of a definite plan for the control of land use, which means not only a physical plan but economic and legislative plans as well. Commissioner Rodgers unfortunately shies away from this prospect. He allows the implications of the past to remain implications.

The charter revisionists had high hopes for the City Planning Commission as an instrument of public service. It was

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given as non-political a form as possible, and extraordinary powers and directives. Besides its day-to-day work of molding the city through zoning and its control of the City Map, it is required to set up a continuing five-year budget of capital expenditures, thus correlating the work of all the city departments. And in the still further view it is supposed to prepare a master-plan for its own control of immediate purposes, to guide the future growth of the city, and to educate and enlighten the public as to what the city might become.

It is this master-plan that Mr. Rodgers somehow fails to tell enough about, nor does he speak of its virtual abandonment since the departure of Rexford Tugwell. He is content to praise the "military leader who concentrates on limited objectives . . . without disclosing the larger purposes of strategy." Granting the enormous accomplishment, high devotion, and ability of tactical leaders, the fact remains that the citizen is not a soldier and might reasonably be interested in strategy. Mr. Rodgers points out time and again that the major errors of the past were not the result of malevolence or dishonesty, but of uninformed and arbitrary judgment because there was no basic plan or policy of land use against which judgments could be compared or stabilized. The future New York is likely to render the same verdict about super-duper highways and super-density housing projects and other "improvements" unless they are related to some ultimate concept of what the city should be, some philosophy of planning expressed in the form of an over-all pattern of use.

It would be desirable, too, that this philosophy be informed with a mature outlook and positive belief about the social and economic future. Mr. Rodgers feels very strongly about the social aspects, and his book is full of the imperative necessity of making New York a decent place in which to live and bring up children. But the economic and legal aspects seem to baffle him, and so no plan of action emerges other than faith in the plans of men of action who act without plan.

This bafflement has been felt by others, by liberals who are afraid of the democratic process and by conservatives who are fearful of the democrats. It leads, in city planning, to Hausmannism, which was all very well in its day and in Paris. Something quite different is needed here and now, a master-plan for New York based on the thinking of planners in all fields—city planning, law, finance, sociology, health, and all the rest of the disciplines that go to make up the complex of a metropolis. If the Planning Commission is too circumscribed in outlook and too hampered by lack of funds and too bedeviled by discordant pressures, then a citizens' organization must do it. The Regional Plan of New York did it once, and in spite of some shortcomings did a basic and fruitful job. It needs to be revised in the light of new concepts—any plan needs constant revision, or it is not a plan but a blueprint, and a blueprint is something fixed, dead. "New York Plans for the Future" should convince everyone interested in his city that the only way to prevent the confusion of the past from becoming the future is to insist that the planning function of the commission be continued. Mr. Rodgers, who has high intelligence, perspective, a social outlook, and, as this book demonstrates, a gift for informing the public, should lead the way.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL

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Civilians in the Blitz

FRONT LINE: THE OFFICIAL STORY OF THE CIVIL DEFENSE OF BRITAIN. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE Battle of Britain was won not only miles high in the air where the Spitfires hunted the enemy but down on the ground, in the streets and homes and factories. Göring tacitly acknowledged defeat not merely by the R. A. F. but at the hands of the people of Britain, who failed to break under a rain of high explosives and fire, who carried on despite death and destruction.

"Front Line," the official account of that victory, is one of the remarkable series of books which the British government has published in the past two years. They are reports to the people written with great skill and beautifully produced, and they have sold in numbers which reduced ordinary best-seller figures to insignificance. Earlier titles include "Fighter Command," "Bomber Command," and "The Abyssinian Campaigns."

Now we have the story of how Britain "took it" during the blitz and emerged physically and morally stronger than before. It is first-class reporting, well on the sober side, but numerous illustrations, brilliantly selected, supply a comment more eloquent than a dictionary of adjectives. Some have an awful beauty, like that of the flaming spire of St. Clement Danes; some are breath-taking, like that of a burning building caught by the camera halfway in its crash to the ground; some are tender, like that of the mother bending over her sleeping child in the underground shelter. They are not, perhaps, a complete record, for the British are reticent about publishing pictures of the starkest horrors of war such as the Russians sometimes release, but only the unimaginative would ask for still more realism.

It was the British people as a whole who fought the blitz by keeping their heads, by sticking to their jobs, and by helping each other in emergencies. It was the army of civil defenders, one and a half million strong, who bore much of the immediate brunt of the attack. Like a military force they were divided into various branches. The great body of wardens can be compared, perhaps, to the infantry. During the period of "phony war," when their chief duty was to enforce the blackout, they were the victims of many jokes and sneers. But when the test came they proved to be the pillars of the whole civil-defense organization. It was their job to act as "the eyes and ears" of the control centers so that the right kind of help was sent to the right place. But equally important was their role as "good neighbors" always ready to give comfort, advice, and leadership to the people on their beats.

The fire-fighters may be compared to the artillery. Their work was spectacular, arduous, and extremely dangerous since the German habit was to drop high explosives into the midst of fires. The sappers in this civilian army were the men who tunneled into wrecked buildings to rescue occupants who were alive but trapped—a highly skilled job and no sinecure, for they always faced the possibility of being buried themselves, and broken gas and water mains provided additional hazards. Another branch of the sappers helped to clear streets, repair telephone and electric cables, plug leaks in burning gas-holders, and generally thwart the enemy's attempts to bring urban life to a standstill. And there were other specialized services—the signal corps of telephonists and messengers, the first-aid workers, the quartermaster's department, which brought refreshment to fire-fighters and rescue squads and rushed mobile canteens wherever homeless people needed food. Finally, there were the regular and auxiliary police, who not only attended to their normal duties but gave a hand wherever it was needed.

This army proved to be highly disciplined—it had to be—but it was not the kind of automatic discipline which enables a mass of men to charge the enemy. The civil defenders worked in small groups, or on their own, and each carried his own burden of responsibility. The organization as a whole was decentralized and closely tied in with the machinery of local government. In practice it proved more flexible than might have been expected and readily adaptable to new situations.

Britain still suffers from air raids—172 people were killed and 205 injured in April—but the real blitz petered out in the summer of 1941. During that period casualties were heavy, although not nearly so numerous as had been anticipated, while the damage to property and particularly homes was immense. But there was no knockout as Göring had confidently expected. This book helps to explain why.

KEITH HUTCHISON

McMaster and the Usable Past

JOHN BACH McMASTER. By Eric F. Goldman. University of Pennsylvania Press. $2.

MR. GOLDMAN observes that John Bach McMaster put himself to writing a history of the United States with the same energy and single-mindedness that his contemporaries Rockefeller and Carnegie gave to oil and iron. The comparison is apt. McMaster was, in his social outlook, a thorough conservative. During his many years of public influence he served in the press and on the platform as one of the intellectual bulwarks of the status quo. At the same time, as a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, he set American social history on its feet, and wrote books which, a correspondent informed him, "are more and more attracting the attention of the laboring classes." The contradiction between his personal point of view and his historical method warrants understanding. It throws an interesting light on the problem of discovering a "usable" American past.

McMaster's great work is entitled (the italics are added) "A History of the *People* of the United States." McMaster was himself one of the "people," a product of Brooklyn and the public schools. He never attended a seminar in history till he directed one, and never studied abroad. His first positions included working with a topographical survey of Civil War battlefields, tutoring students, and writing technical books for a science series. He began his teaching career as an instructor in civil engineering.

McMaster early became dissatisfied with then current standards in American history, its emphasis upon statesmen and military campaigns; and he undertook a life-long discipline of poring over old journals and pamphlets for news of America as it had been. It is not difficult to see why the

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first volume of his history, when it was published in 1883, should have been a best-seller. His work constitutes a vast notebook about common life in the pre-Civil War decades. Such subjects as "Housemaids," "Insecurity of the mails; use of ciphers," "Rage for lotteries" were developed at the expense of heroes and public issues. Moreover, his focus, as his biographer points out, was comparatively national rather than sectional.

Mr. Goldman's extended analyses of McMaster's work are likely to interest the scholar more than the general reader, but they help clarify the historian's contribution to his craft. His passion for democracy impelled him to seek out the ordinary, illuminating facts about former times, but his democracy was tuned entirely in terms of the past. For his own day, facts became a means for building partisan arguments. Reduced to their lowest terms, they could result in such a scissors-and-paste job as McMaster's history of America during the First World War.

Mr. Goldman writes well, and his judgments on McMaster are consistently accurate. McMaster's approach to American history is indeed dated in some respects. It is possible to overemphasize the importance of detail in American life. But his basic respect for what went before, his willingness to take other times and customs on their own terms, still offers as good a way as any to understand the past in order to use it properly.

LOUIS FILLER

Re Germany's Historic Guilt

THE THOUSAND-YEAR CONSPIRACY: SECRET GERMANY BEHIND THE MASK. By Paul Winkler. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

THE theme of this book is by now a familiar one. It is not only that Germany and the Germans are by nature innately disposed to military conquest and brutality toward their fellow-men, but that World War II is the direct and planned result of a conscious plot elaborated over many decades and even centuries. Leopold Schwarzschild has recently documented the processes of this supposed plot with special emphasis on the twenty years between the Treaty of Versailles and the Hitler attack on Poland. The late Roussy de Sales analyzed what he believed to be the inner qualities of soul which have impelled Germans through the ages to rebel against civilization. Mr. Winkler, who is introduced by his publishers as the founder of Europe's largest newspaper-feature syndicate and as Edouard Herriot's adviser in press matters, traces the plot back to the Teutonic Order of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He undertakes to show that those pious gangsters who conquered East Prussia and points east wore the Holy Cross on their breasts only as a front for their plot to establish the Hooked Cross as their symbol of domination over the entire world.

Mr. Winkler brings to his exposition a wealth of fascinating lore concerning the ways and customs of these marauders —doings grimly akin to those of the Nazis in 1943 in Poland. He recounts the efforts of the Hohenstauffen emperors to make the Vatican a servant of the Teutonic state. And he emphasizes the transition of the Hohenstauffen pretension through Bull of Rimini by Frederick II to the "Prusso-Teutonic group," which authorized them to exercise in North Europe the claims that Frederick was relinquishing in Italy. It is all very interesting and, to this reviewer, pretty remote.

Mr. Winkler then traces the spirit and even the ancestral blood of the Teutonic Order and its Junker parasites through the Great Elector and Frederick the Great down to Bismarck, and then through Wilhelm II and Weimar to Hitler. Hitler, the reader is invited to infer, is the supreme incarnation of what the Teutonic gangsters had planned all along. Mr. Winkler picks all the expected quotations from List and Treitzschke and Bernhardi, and from the German democrats like Kotzebue who denounced them. Yet he does not, to the judicious reader, succeed in indicting the German people. And he hardly succeeds in building up a satisfactory detective-story image of a sinister plot.

Mr. Winkler, like his colleagues in the promulgation of this thesis, achieves his effect by ignoring all historical elements that might embarrass it. He does not suggest that Germany was a part of the entire stream of European history—and a very muddy stream it was. He hardly mentions the courageous struggles of the German people from time to time to achieve democracy. His documentation is strictly selective.

It may well be that books undertaking to demonstrate the unique depravity of the German people will presently go their way with those Hitler-inspired *opera* which demonstrate the unique inferiority of all non-German races. Mr. Winkler's is one of the best of a bad breed.

HIRAM MOTHERWELL

YALE

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IN BRIEF

A SATIRE AGAINST MANKIND AND OTHER POEMS. By John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. New Directions. $1.

For the latest of its "Poets of the Year" series, New Directions has issued this brief selection of poems by Rochester, seventeenth-century moralist and rake, whose work is now out of print and difficult to obtain. The book has been beautifully printed by Jacob Hammer; and Harry Levin, known for his recent study of Joyce, has selected and edited the poems and contributed an illuminating preface.

THE SWORD ON THE TABLE: THOMAS DORR'S REBELLION. By Winfield Townley Scott. The Poet of the Month Series. New Directions. $1.

A hundred years ago Thomas Dorr, believing himself duly elected governor of Rhode Island by vote of all the people, led a rebellion against the vested and propertied interests represented by Governor King and his crowd in Newport. This rebellion, however nobly motivated, seems from Mr. Scott's verse account, to have been an inept, foolishly conducted, and pathetic affair; so that its value as propaganda for the people's cause is somewhat dubious, and the demands it imposes on a work of art seem to require more extensive and elaborate treatment than this summary version permits. To revive forgotten American annals is a task that should not be left entirely to historians; the poet who undertakes it needs to feel very sure, however, that he does so with genuine emotion, not merely from meretricious opportunism or the advantage of performing a popular exploit. He must also be sure that his material justifies his expenditure of research and talent.

GREAT BRITAIN UNDER PROTECTION. By Frederic Benham. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This volume is the latest in the Commercial and Tariff History Series published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. After explaining why Great Britain adopted protection in 1931, Mr. Benham closely examines the tariff, imperial preference, and other forms of protection, concluding that protection was hardly a significant factor in economic recovery. The main cause, he believes, was the low price of imported foodstuffs, which made purchasing power available for other expenditures. A documented, somewhat nostalgic statement of the case for free trade.

MODERN JAPAN AND SHINTO NATIONALISM. A Study of Present-Day Trends in Japanese Religions. By D. C. Holton. University of Chicago Press. $2.

This sobering book, based on the Haskell lectures at the University of Chicago, is not merely for students of religion. It shows the religion of conquest stemming from the remotest sources of Japanese history and permeating every detail of national life and thought. Total war for Japan is total indeed, and unless victory is made equally total the problem of Japan may remain.

ANGLOSAXONY. A LEAGUE THAT WORKS. By Wyndham Lewis. Bruce Humphries. $1.

In his usual stimulating style Wyndham Lewis declares that for all practical purposes "democracy" is simply the way the English-speaking peoples work, that our parliaments are in full working order, and that we are the greatest political force in the world. Let's put all we have got into it, and let other people take it or leave it. He seems to think they will be inclined to take it.

FOREVER YOUNG: A LIFE OF JOHN KEATS. By Blanche Colton Williams. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

Dr. Williams's book covers the life of Keats from April 14, 1817, to February 24, 1821, with an occasional flashback to earlier periods. The author makes no claim to special competence as scholar, as critic, or as poet; moreover, she does not write very well. This biography, therefore, like many lives of many poets, is most interesting when the subject is presented in direct quotation, either from his poems or his letters. In these Keats comes through in bright and naked sense; elsewhere, when Dr. Williams dresses him up, refurbished, with whatever warrant, in shreds and patches of his own ideas, torn from their natural context, he seems not so much forever young, as forever quaint, forever literary. When will writers realize that the method that tries to make a biography read almost like a novel, the "fictionalized biography," is, at best, a semi-asinine approach? If the sesquicentennial of Keats's birth, still two years away, is made the occasion of any general celebration, there may, if the harvest is large, be published books on Keats that will render all previous volumes obsolete; but "Forever Young" is decidedly not in that category.

ART

SPRING SALON FOR YOUNG ARTISTS. At Art of This Century, 30 West Fifty-seventh Street, until June 26.

This is a show of artists under thirty-five years old. It is a good one, and for once the future reveals a gleam of hope. They are all promising, and some, like I. Rice Periera, are more than that. Her Composition, No. 30, which gives the impression of one abstraction neatly painted over another and precisely complementing it, is the best thing here. There are other pleasures. C. Dilworth has an Object-Collage, No. 8, that is funny as well as pretty. Matta copies himself even more superbly than usual. Perle Fine, a name to conjure with, Robert Motherwell, Fannie Hillsmith, and Ralph Rosenberg, each show small paintings which it would be a pleasure to own. Baziotes who had a picture in the last exhibition, has two tenebrous ones in this, and there is a large painting by Jackson Pollack which, I am told, made the jury starry-eyed.

IVES TANGUY, RECENT PAINTINGS, AND CALDER CONSTELLATIONES. At the Pierre Matisse Gallery, 41 East Fifty-seventh Street, until June 5.

There is nothing any more "recent" about these Tanguy paintings than there ever has been; if you already like Tanguy you will probably enjoy these empty skies and cluttered shores. The Calders on the other hand have changed. They balance and sway as delicately as before. The color which on metal often seemed an added and unnecessary thing is natural on wood. Mr. Calder treats sculpture like an engineer and produces fairy-tale objects.

MEMORY AND PROPHECY, PAINTINGS BY MRS. IRVING T. BUSH. At the Grand Central Fifth Avenue Galleries, Hotel Gotham, Fifth Avenue at Fifty-fifth Street, until June 2.

Mrs. Bush says of her work, "They move my hand up and down and onward, across and sideways in all directions, as if measuring out the perspective. . . . They work rapidly and never fail to reprove me when I do not respond readily

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or if I am in any way inattentive. Suddenly I will find my hand poised over the canvas, motionless. When I ask what is the matter, They say: 'If we were able, we would box your ears.' " At that They haven't done such a bad job, considering that spirit guides are not so much interested in art as in impressing their omniscience on this faulty world. If Their technique lacks subtlety, They make up for it by a dashing sense of design and a horrific imagination.

JEAN CONNOLLY

MUSIC

N. B. C.'s Studio 8H, which used to be acoustically dead, has been made live and reverberant; and this has improved the sound of the N. B. C. Symphony that comes out of a good radio; but the all-important balances in Debussy's "La Mer"—the balances of bits of sound at each point, producing the right composite sound—came out altered, presumably by the placing and operation of the microphones. In the studio the sound of the orchestra, which used to be dry and hard, now has a brilliance that gets to be harsh and noisy. One can hear that a superb orchestra is playing Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" under Toscanini; but how great an orchestra one discovers only when the sound of the performance acquires spaciousness, clarity, warmth, and richness in the acoustic conditions of Carnegie Hall.

It is a great orchestra because of its personnel—especially the young virtuosos in its string sections—and because of the training it gets from Toscanini ("You can quote me on this," said one of them excitedly after the last rehearsal of "La Mer": "We come here to go to school."). And it would be even greater if it played only under him. Part of the time it works with Toscanini, who constantly exhorts it to "play correct"—by which he means holding the tempo steady and playing every note exactly as the composer directs in the score. And some of his exhortation and labor for this purpose is made necessary by the fact that most of the time the orchestra works with other conductors, including Stokowski, who tells it that the written notes of the score are nothing, that performance must be creative, must be improvised. For Stokowski's pronouncement translated into practice results in unprecise execution which makes it more difficult for the orchestra to achieve the precision Toscanini demands. Of a scale written for eighteen violins, for example, it makes a thrilling upward slide of gorgeous violin sound that is a composite of eighteen different scales; and this sort of thing demoralizes the orchestra for a conductor who regards the scale as a series in which each sound is produced by the eighteen violins exactly in unison.

Verdi has something to say about "conductors' inspiration" and "creative activity in every performance" in his letters. "I want only one single creator, and I shall be quite satisfied if they perform simply and exactly what he has written. The trouble is that they do not confine themselves to what he has written. I often read in the papers about effects that the composer never could have thought of; but . . . I have never found such a thing. . . . I deny that either singers or conductors can 'create,' or work creatively—this, as I have always said, is a conception that leads to the abyss. . . . Shall I give you an example? You spoke to me recently in praise of an effect that Mariani achieved in the Overture to 'La Forza del Destino' by having the brass enter fortissimo on G. Now then, I disapprove of this effect. These brasses, intended to be *mezza voce,* could not express anything but the Friar's song. Mariani's fortissimo completely changes the character of the passage, and turns it into a warlike fanfare." And elsewhere he insists on "*enunciation* and *keeping in tempo*. . . . That is the way the opera is written, and if you expect any success that is the way it will have to be performed." One finds in the volume other instances of identical attitudes that explain Toscanini's devotion to Verdi; from these two instances one understands why he presented the volume to the members of the N. B. C. Symphony (but one doesn't understand his failure to see that Mussorgsky's rights as the real and only creator of his music were violated by Rimsky-Korsakov's changes of his melody and harmony).

It is a young orchestra; and its string sections contain a number of the outstandingly talented young musicians whose capacities and expectations as solo and chamber music players have been defeated in a concert world organized by the two huge block-booking concert-management monopolies for the commercial exploitation of established big names, not for the proper use and nurture of young talent. When it is an old orchestra, and when these young musicians have played for many years, mostly under second-rate conductors, third-raters, complete phonies, charlatans, and demagogues, they may be the hard-boiled, blasé, arrogant orchestral players that some musicians become; they may write me, as Mr. Calmen Fleissig of the New York Philharmonic did last November, about what orchestral players suffer from prima donna conductors like Toscanini. But at present they are still young musicians for whom the musical experiences they have with Toscanini are worth the exhausting effort he demands from them and the occasional rages they must take from him; who at the end of that rehearsal of "La Mer" burst into a storm of applause in appreciation of the imaginative insight and technical powers that had translated the baffling score, with all its bits of figuration and color and all its nuances of pace, into the coherent and stunningly magnificent form in sound; and who a week earlier, at a rehearsal of the program of popular favorites, grinned their delight at the phrasing and shaping that made things like the Overture to "Zampa" sound "as fresh and glistening as creation itself," and were moved to applause by the inflection of the long cantilena of the Haydn Serenade.

This was only one of several unusual programs with which Toscanini balanced his Brahms cycle. Another was the Verdi program, exciting as a demonstration of a style of performance which revealed the dramatic power, eloquence, and nobility of the early music from "Nabucco" and "I Lombardi" as well as the more familiar "Forza del Destino" and "Traviata." Also there were two programs of American works, which left one trying to figure out why, after not playing American music all these years, he should finally play so much that was bad; or, if he played pieces as good—each in its own way—as Griffes's "White Peacock" and Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" now, why he hadn't played them years before; or, if he played a piece by Loeffler, why it was the feeble "Memories of My Childhood" rather than one of the earlier, more characteristic, and better works like "Poem" or "A Pagan Poem." I found the performance of the orchestral part of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" superb, but the solo piano part excessively mannered. As for the Brahms performances they were the finest he has ever given here and the finest I can conceive of anyone giving.

Possibly Toscanini could be induced to devote some of his next year's broadcasts to a Mozart cycle, and one of them to Berlioz's "Romeo and Juliet," which was not broadcast when he performed it with the Philharmonic. You might write and ask him.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Fischer to Culbertson

Dear Sirs: Mr. Culbertson is quite right: I do not know how to play solitaire. I have only seen it played. I thank him for the lesson in cards. I am also grateful to him for replying politely to my criticism of his World Federation Plan. But he does me an injustice in suggesting that I have not read the plan. I read it twice from first word to last, never omitting a single word. My article on the plan grew out of a book review. I will not say whether it is conscientiousness or cowardice that makes me read every word of a book I review. Especially when I feel compelled to write an unfavorable review I am afraid that the author of the book or somebody else will come and exclaim: But how could you write so-and-so when on page 127 the book declares such-and-such? I did not slight Mr. Culbertson by skimming through his plan. I rejected it after careful reading and careful weighing.

Because my article was a long review of someone else's book I did not feel called upon to present my own plan for peace. I may do that on another occasion. I believe, however, that to point out error serves a constructive purpose. Before we can move forward to a desirable peace we must know which roads do not lead to peace. I think Mr. Culbertson's plan would lead to trouble.

Mr. Culbertson's reply does not answer my arguments. I said that American control of the Dutch West Indies, Indo-China, Siam, and the Pacific islands would be imperialism. He says it would be akin to having bases on Cuba and Bermuda. That is not so. We have bases in Bermuda, but so have the British. In the Malaysian Federation we and nobody else would have bases. Since the first attribute of sovereignty is the right of self-protection, it is incorrect to say that "the full sovereignty of other nations would be safeguarded."

Mr. Culbertson, hedging, now contends that the big powers will keep their strategic zones (Malaysia, India, eastern Poland, etc.) only until the World Federation is organized, and then presumably surrender those zones. Now who is the dreamer? If the United States will need the protection of a Pacific strategic zone thousands of miles from our coasts at the very moment when Japan has been smashed and forced to her knees in unconditional surrender, why should we expect that America would relinquish that zone later on?

Incidentally, where did Culbertson get "Mr. Fischer's seventy-odd simultaneous people's revolutions"? I never mentioned or suggested them.

To me, long-term, peace-time American military and naval control of Malaysia is imperialism. Culbertson is proud of it. I'm sorry.

Mr. Culbertson's quota-force scheme is squarely built on the readiness of the Soviet government, the United States government, and every other government to allow a World Federation to own and operate all big munitions plants inside their countries. I expressed the opinion that the Soviet government certainly would not permit this, and that the American and British governments were unlikely to permit it. Mr. Culbertson does not even try to answer this objection.

Mr. Culbertson wishes to "segregate the means of making war." That is right. He would segregate them in the hands of the big powers, which, he himself admits, are the kind of units which have always made the wars of the past. Nothing in the Culbertson plan, as I pointed out in my original article, offers a means of coping with those great powers. And that is the central problem of maintaining peace. I showed that the Mobile Corps of the small nations would be no match for the big countries.

Quite unnecessarily, Culbertson waxes dramatic about the inability of the people to protect themselves against tyrants. I agree with him. Why all the excitement? I never mentioned this subject in my article. I assumed that every politically literate person knew it. It is bad debating to set up your own argument and then knock it down.

I haven't the space in these letter columns to deal with other Culbertson points. The essential difference between Culbertson's attitude and mine is this: he thinks it is realistic to accept the expansionist appetites of some governments and the status quo tendencies of others and to build a post-war plan on those assumptions. I believe that it is my duty to fight those appetites and tendencies and to make my contribution toward arousing public sentiment against them. Culbertson bows to what is. "Has Fischer talked with any of our Senators?" he asks. What does that mean? It means that some of our Senators would oppose a solid peace. Culbertson therefore proceeds to formulate a defective peace because he thinks he can get the Senators to approve. I say, oppose such Senators, put public pressure on them to change their policies. The imperialist governments, the narrow nationalistic governments, the domestic reactionaries and isolationists do not need Culbertson to draft a bad peace for them. They can do it themselves. They are already doing it. There is only one chance in 178,000 that they will adopt Culbertson's plan. The danger is that well-intentioned individuals will be misled into thinking that Culbertson's scheme is a desirable one and will work for it without realizing that the concessions he makes to the reactionary lovers of the status quo would, if ever adopted, lead to another war.

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, May 17

Each Man His Own Vine and Fig Tree

Dear Sirs: A strange and incredible story—this effort to discredit the New York *Times's* American History survey by belittling the importance of the Homestead Act.

Is it possible that on this 71st anniversary of President Lincoln's signing of the Homestead Act, we have nothing to offer but jeers?

The Homestead Act of 1862 was a major event in our history, but it is reserved for one R. N. Stromberg to suggest, in your letter columns of May 15, that the disposal by the government of more than a quarter of a billion acres of land was something that, "if anyone celebrated, it was the moneyed speculators of Wall Street."

Mr. Stromberg makes four sweeping statements, all of which are wholly wrong.

1. He says that I am concerned with a "worship of pure 'facts,' and have a disdain for interpretative accounts." This is more than ridiculous. It is fantastic. Repeatedly, I have urged in and out of the public prints that we need both facts and interpretation. My objection to Teachers' College, Columbia, and the National Council for the Social Studies is that they are stressing classroom materials that emphasize interpretations to

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the neglect of the facts, when, in truth, we need both.

2. He says that the "traditional historical legend" is that the Homestead Act was "the successful climax of a thirty-year struggle," and that it "gave to millions the right to stake their own claim in the public lands." But he says "the facts are otherwise" and then cites Professor Paul Gates as his authority.

But Professor Gates does not hasten to oblige. Indeed, in "The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work," Professor Gates says (p. 310): "The movement of population . . . was due not only to railroad and state emigration activities, *but also to the existence of free land available to all citizens under the Homestead Act.* This act, passed after a long and bitter struggle, provided for the granting of free homesteads of 160 acres" (my italics).

Likewise (on page 313) Professor Gates states that "had the Homestead Act not been in effect, the land sales of the Illinois Central Railroad would have been greater." Did Wall Street rejoice over this? To suggest it did is as absurd as to suggest that I am "obviously pleading somebody's special cause." I must confess, however, I am engaged in a deep, dark, sinister conspiracy to have American history taught in our schools.

3. Mr. Stromberg states that such "modern investigators as Professor Paul Gates have convinced all informed students that the Homestead Act did not end speculation in lands." The obvious inference is that I think it did. Not once —not even by the most remote inference—did I suggest that the Homestead Act ended speculation in the public lands.

Obviously, Mr. Stromberg, like General Grant, wearies of long sentences. In my original letter I defended the *Times's* survey question about the minimum price of the public lands ($1.25) on the ground that it would be impossible for one to know much about the background of the great depression of 1837 without knowing the cheap price for which government lands sold to all comers. For his benefit, I wish to say that the words "Homestead Act" and "depression of 1837" are two different terms; in fact, they do not begin with the same letter of the alphabet.

4. Mr. Stromberg says I am unaware of Professor Gates's work on the Western land question, and this fact is "thus doubly damning." It so happens I am very familiar not only with his book on the Illinois Central Railroad but also with his comments on many other phases of the public-land question. Indeed, I have had his work on the Illinois Central Railroad and its land-colonization schemes on my shelf for five years. It appeared in 1934. If Mr. Stromberg would consult a more recent study by Gustavus Myers (1939) of how the railroads looted the public lands and charged settlers high sums for lands sought for farming, he would not belittle the one great bright spot in the whole picture—the Homestead Act of 1862.

The apologists for the railroads will not tell you this, but the Homestead Act, with all its flaws, came nearer to the ideal of "each man under his own vine and fig tree" than any other event in American history.

HUGH RUSSELL FRASER, Chairman
Committee on American History
Washington, May 15

Old Hickory Was Right

Dear Sirs: The seventh President of the United States, Andrew Jackson, considered that the United States Bank wielded too much power and was a menace to the liberties of the people under a democratic form of government. Jackson would not vote to extend the franchise for the United States Bank of his day.

Since then many people in the United States have held the same opinion of the banks that Jackson did. There is good reason for this opinion. Too many bank officials have absconded with the people's money. Too many banks have failed, and the depositors have lost all their deposits.

Once we deposited our money in the banks and our checks were honored; now if we have less than $200 in the bank we have to pay for our banking. Formerly we received 3 per cent interest on saving accounts; now we only receive 1 per cent, but if we borrow money from the bank we must pay 6 or 8 per cent. Now if we cash a check drawn on a bank outside the locality in which we live, ten cents is charged for the exchange.

In our city of Vallejo the banks are charging ten cents for cashing government checks. I presume the banks are also doing so in other places, though the government deposits funds to meet these checks and the government checks have always been legal tender. I think this fee is illegal. I suggest that all persons interested should write letters to their Senators and Congressmen about this. No wonder many people hold the banks in disrespect.

Like Shylock these banks must have their pound of flesh (profit) no matter if the common people do suffer.

CHARLES W. SHERMAN
Vallejo, Cal., May 8

Who Started It?

Dear Sirs: I believe that the editorial comment on the All-India Moslem League in *The Nation* of May 8 will by its omissions and one-sidedness prove very misleading.

You quote Jinnah to the effect that the real issue in India is not Britain's preventing an agreement but Britain's prospective attempt to "force Moslems and Hindus into a common federation." You subscribe to Herbert L. Matthews's "modest conclusion" that the League's challenge "immensely strengthens the British contention that the people of India cannot seem to get together." And you conclude that the League's impressive show of strength in its latest annual session "has come close to justifying England's war-time policy."

It was Britain's introduction of the pernicious system of communal voting that first accentuated the normal differences between the Hindus and Moslems. It was her policy of preparing and patronizing princes, minorities, and vested interests, according to the shifting exigencies of the political situation, which encouraged them to raise demands that thwart all attempts at unity. It was essentially Britain's refusal to part with substantial political power that torpedoed the Cripps mission and heightened internal tension. And it was the subtle and indirect recognition of "Pakistan" (Partition) in the Cripps proposal that encouraged the Moslem League to make Pakistan its sacred and inviolable political platform.

What has Britain been doing recently to draw the League and the Congress closer? Rajagopalachari, after his talks with Jinnah, entertained great hopes of effecting a compromise—if only he could see Gandhi. Preposterous, said the omniscient and omnipotent Viceroy. You cannot see Gandhi. No one, not even President Roosevelt's personal envoy, shall see Gandhi. No wonder that Jinnah, while assailing Gandhi, also "accused the British of trying to keep the Moslems and Hindus apart, not wishing to have a settlement between these two great parties" (part of a Reuter dispatch of April 24 ignored by the press, including *The Nation*).

ANUP SINGH, Editor *India Today*
New York, May 9

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The Russo-Polish "Wound"

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that your article of May 8 attributes an altogether excessive share of the responsibility for "the Russo-Polish wound" to the allegedly reactionary character of the Polish government-in-exile. There are three circumstances in the situation which, I think, are just cause for resentment to the great majority of Poles, in Poland and abroad, regardless of the character of their political and economic views:

1. The Soviet claim to the eastern regions of Poland, seized after the cynical Stalin-Hitler pact, is singularly weak in both moral and legal justification. The Polish eastern frontier was recognized not only by the freely negotiated Treaty of Riga, in 1921, but by various non-aggression pacts concluded between the Soviet Union and Poland, at the initiative of the former, during the thirties. It surely is not unreasonable for the Poles to repudiate gains made at their country's expense, and by methods of naked force, during the period of German-Soviet collaboration.

2. A very large number of people—the official Polish figure is about 1,500,000—were arbitrarily deported to Russia from the occupied regions of Poland and assigned to forced labor under conditions of hardship and inhumanity. Now that the Soviet Union and Poland have been allies for almost two years, it is certainly natural for the Poles to feel resentment at the detention of these unfortunate people—those of them who have survived the experience—in Russia and at the attempt to force Soviet citizenship upon them.

3. When the Soviet government broke off relations with the Polish government headed by General Sikorski there was a good deal of comment, both from Moscow and from other European capitals, to the effect that this move was designed to force a reorganization of the Polish government-in-exile. This sort of pressure was in the best, or the worst, tradition of the Empress Catherine II, whose continual interference in Polish internal affairs was the prelude to the final national tragedy of partition.

If the ideals of justice, freedom, and national self-determination to which all the United Nations are pledged are to be upheld, I think any Soviet-Polish settlement sponsored by Anglo-American diplomacy should embody the following three points: (1) no annexation by the Soviet Union of former Polish territory except after a free, unintimidated plebiscite under neutral international auspices, and, of course, without Red Army occupation; (2) freedom for the deportees from eastern Poland to choose Polish or Soviet citizenship, as they may desire, and freedom for those who choose the former to return to Poland as soon as circumstances permit; (3) scrupulous observance by the Soviet and Polish governments of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the other country.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Cambridge, Mass., May 8

Race and the Draft

Dear Sirs: I have recently returned from Fort Huachuca, Arizona, where I served as Assistant Field Director, American Red Cross, with the 93rd Division, which is 100 per cent Negro. My experience there opened my eyes as never before to the conditions that exist among the Negroes, and I want to pass on to you a few of the facts that I learned while on duty with the Negro troops.

It is indisputable that the Southern draft boards have shown great prejudice in their selection of draftees. This statement was made to me by both white and colored officers. Out of a division of 15,000 to 18,000 men, approximately 2,000 are being discharged for physical disability. Many men obviously unfit for army service were inducted. During one period men were being discharged at the rate of 60 to 70 a day. I can understand how the local draft boards took these men, but I cannot understand how they passed the medical examination at army induction centers if these were conducted with any degree of honesty.

Hundreds of these misfits are being weeded out at Fort Huachuca. They are placed in casual companies, deprived of all extra clothing, mess-kits, and personal equipment, and have not been paid for months. Whether this is due to inefficiency or plan, I do not know. I do know that dozens of these poor devils came to our office asking for small comfort loans so they could purchase razor blades, toilet articles, and other necessities. I do not know whether similar conditions exist in other camps or not.

Other phases of the situation I cannot discuss because it would be revealing military information. It is unnecessary for me to write about the social conditions revealed to me by my case work with the Negro soldiers. All that is an old story to you. But the convictions I held when I came to Huachuca were deepened by my experience there, short as it was.

Morale work among the Negro troops is futile and absurd. Actually, these men have nothing to fight for; yet only one man of the hundreds I interviewed at Huachuca expressed his sense of injustice bitterly. He did so with tears in his eyes because he is a young husband and father who was drafted from Mississippi and is afraid that his house will be sold out from under him in his absence. This leads me to my last point, which is that a majority of the draftees at Huachuca seem to be married and many of them are fathers. Evidently it has been the practice of the Southern boards to draft married Negroes and family men before similar classes of whites were called.

ROBERT WORMSER

Santa Barbara, Cal., April 14

CONTRIBUTORS

SELDEN C. MENEFEE, a regular contributor to the Washington *Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor,* recently traveled all over the country for the Princeton Office of Public Opinion Research. He is now writing a book on the home front, to be published by Reynal and Hitchcock.

CLEMENT GREENBERG, Pfc, is a frequent contributor to the literary section of *The Nation* and was its art critic until his induction into the army some months ago. He was formerly an editor of the *Partisan Review.*

CHARLES NEIDER is on the staff of the *New Yorker,* and is also writing training films for the army and navy.

DONALD W. MITCHELL, professor of political science at Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas, has been awarded one of the 1943 literary fellowships offered by Alfred A. Knopf. He is at work on a history of the "new navy" of the United States—from 1883 to 1943.

GAETANO SALVEMINI, formerly professor of modern history at the University of Florence, is now teaching at Harvard. He is the author of "Historian and Scientist: An Essay on the Nature of History and the Social Sciences."

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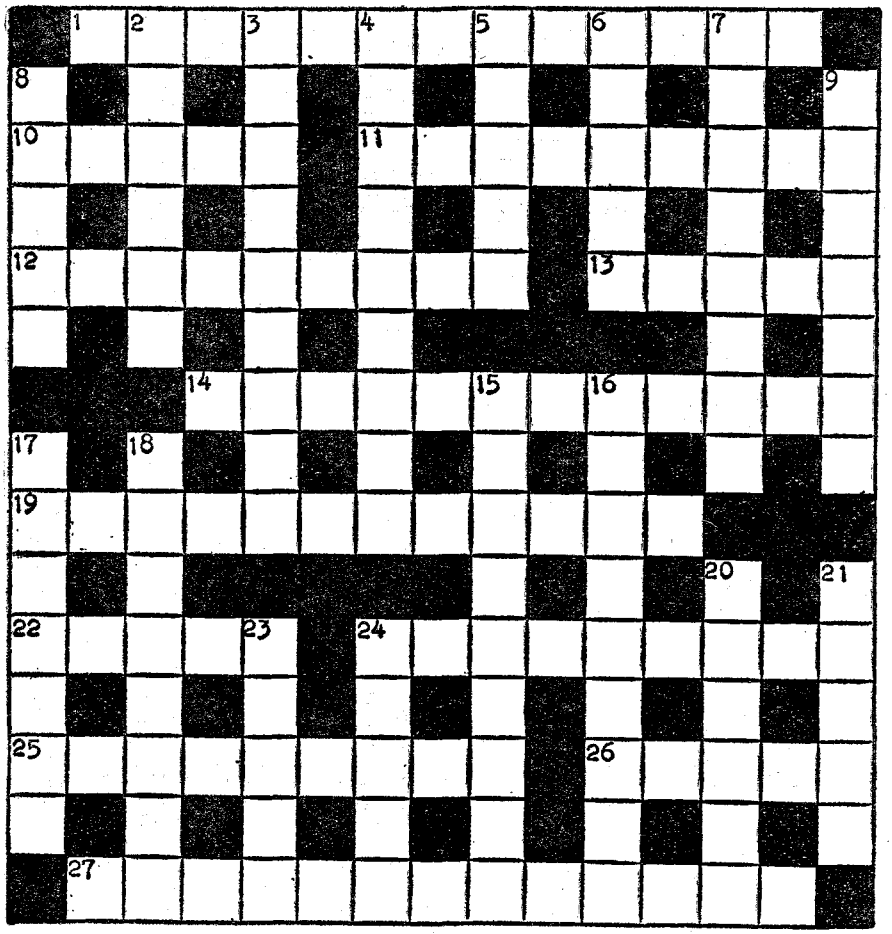
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 15

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Diffusing eloquence perhaps, but appearing fed up with ennui (hyphen, 8 and 5)
10 People are often guilty of doing so unconsciously
11 Celestial city set against the rising sun
12 All Europe, and it is practicing self-restraint
13 Give the elbow to, as Wodehouse might say
14 The lion's share
19 Ours has been amended several times
22 Most fashionable of English race courses
24 You can't accumulate unless you do so, they say
25 Where to go if in trouble abroad
26 Edition to come out
27 Rats in saddles (anag.)

DOWN

2 Has sage associations
3 An egg in Lent is careless
4 Unmerciful
5 "Old John of -----, time-honored Lancaster" (Richard II)
6 All we can get from this instrument is a groan
7 A native of Lapland, but no Lapp
8 Most golfers can manage another, even after lunch
9 Like a man-eater
15 Where the pitcher went once too often (three words, 2, 3 and 4)
16 Darwin wrote learnedly on this
17 It's a handicap to start thus
18 Snake found in Canada? No!
20 It would be uncomplimentary to behead these damsels
21 Renew a thing to make it this
23 The Government, according to Henry Clay
24 One of a flight

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 14

ACROSS:—1 TREASURY; 5 INFLOW; 10 LINSEED; 11 RUN OVER; 12 GRIEF; 13 EJACULATE; 14 ALIBI; 16 TRANSEPT; 19 ROWDYISM; 22 ADELE; 24 ESCHEWING; 26 CARDS; 28 PALETOT; 29 NOISIER; 30 EASELS; 31 STANDERS.

DOWN:—1 TELEGRAM; 2 ENNUI; 3 SIEGFRIED; 4 RED CENT; 6 NANDU; 7 LOVE APPLE; 8 WARREN; 9 ARMADA; 15 ISOSCELES; 17 STANCHION; 18 MEASURES; 20 IDIOTS; 21 MAGINOT; 23 KELPIE; 25 EXTOL; 27 RAISE.

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